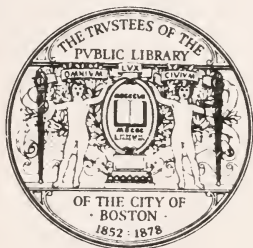




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AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY

BY

JEREMY BELKNAP, D.D.

WITH

DITIONS AND NOTES,

BY F. M. HUBBARD.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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CONTENTS

OF

THE THIRD VOLUME.

	Page
WILLIAM BRADFORD	7
WILLIAM BREWSTER	53
ROBERT CUSHMAN	70
EDWARD WINSLOW	85
MILES STANDISH	116
JOHN WINTHROP	148
JOHN WINTHROP, JR.	185
GEORGE CALVERT, CECILIUS CALVERT, Lords Baltimore.	
LEONARD CALVERT	206
WILLIAM PENN	225

APPENDIX	293
INDEX	305



AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY.

XIX. WILLIAM BRADFORD.

WILLIAM BRADFORD was born in 1588, at Ansterfield, an obscure village in the north of England.* His parents dying when he was young, he was educated, first by his grand-parents, and afterward by his uncles, in the practice of agriculture. His paternal inheritance was considerable, but he had no other learning than such as generally falls to the share of the children of husbandmen.

At twelve years of age his mind became seriously impressed by Divine truth in reading the Scriptures, and, as he increased in years, a native firmness enabled him to vindicate his opinions against opposition. Being stigmatized as a Separatist, he was obliged to bear the frowns of his relatives and the scoff of his neighbours ; but nothing could divert or intimidate him from attending on the ministry of Mr. Richard Clifton, and connect-

* Magnalia, ii., 3.

ing himself with the church over which he and Mr. Robinson presided.

When he was eighteen years old he joined in their attempt to go over to Holland, and was one of the seven who were imprisoned at Boston, in Lincolnshire, as has already been related in the Life of Robinson; but he was soon liberated on account of his youth. He was also one of those who the next year fled from Grimsby Common, when part of the company went to sea and part were taken by the pursuivants.*

After some time he went over to Zealand, through various difficulties, and was no sooner set on shore than a malicious passenger in the same vessel accused him before the Dutch magistrates as a fugitive from England. But, when they understood the cause of his emigration, they gave him protection, and permission to join his brethren at Amsterdam.

It being impossible for him to prosecute agriculture in Holland, he was obliged to betake himself to some other business; and, being then under age, he put himself as an

* [See Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, ii., Appendix. Hazard, i., 350, &c. Bradford's own narration, which we have only in fragments, yet of great interest and value, is the source of all the information we have of these events.—H.]

apprentice to a French Protestant, who taught him the art of silk-dyeing. As soon as he attained the years of manhood, he sold his paternal estate in England, and entered on a commercial life, in which he was not very successful.

When the Church of Leyden contemplated a removal to America, Bradford zealously engaged in the undertaking, and came with the first company, in 1620, to Cape Cod.* While the ship lay in that harbour, he was one of the foremost in the several hazardous attempts to find a proper place for the seat of the colony, in one of which he, with others of the principal persons, narrowly escaped the destruction which threatened their shallop.† On his return from this excursion to the ship with the joyful news of having found a harbour and a place for settlement, he had the mortification to hear that, during his absence, his wife had accidentally fallen into the sea, and was drowned.‡

* [In February, 1619, he was one of the agents sent to England to make a bargain with the Virginia Company for the removal.—Prince, 151.—H.] † Prince, 76.

‡ [This was Dec. 7th. Of this lady we know only that her baptismal name was Dorothy.—Prince, 165. From Prince's list of signers on board the Mayflower, page 308 of volume ii., I suppose she had no children. Roger White's Letter to Brad-

After the sudden death of Governor Carver, the infant colony cast their eyes on Bradford to succeed him ; but, being at that time so very ill that his life was despaired of, they waited for his recovery, and then invested him with the command. He was in the thirty-third year of his age ; his wisdom, piety, fortitude, and goodness of heart were so conspicuous as to merit the sincere esteem of the people. Carver had been alone in command. They confided in his prudence, that he would not adventure on any matter of moment without the consent of the people or the advice of the wisest. To Bradford they appointed an assistant, Isaac Allerton,* not because they had not the same con-

ford (Mass. Hist. Coll., iii., 43) furnishes ground for a conjecture that her maiden name was May.—H.]

* [Isaac Allerton's reputation among the descendants of the Pilgrims is hardly equal to his deserts. He came over in the *Mayflower* with his wife Mary and five children. Some years after her death, Feb. 25th, 1621, he married Fear, a daughter of Elder Brewster. He appears to have been a man of courage, for the day after the grand reception of Masassoit, " some of them told us the king would have some of us come to see him ; Captain Standish and Isaac Alderton went voluntarily."—Mourt's Journal, 231. The planters had much confidence in his discretion and capacity for business, as they sent him their agent to England in the fall of 1626, to complete with the adventurers the negotiation which Standish had begun, to borrow money, buy goods, &c.—Prince, 239. He returned in the spring of 1627, having borrowed " £200 at thirty per cent., to

fidence in him, but partly for the sake of regularity, and partly on account of his pre-

the great content of the plantation." He brought the adventurers to a composition, signed Nov. 15th, by which they relinquished all their interest in the company for the sum of £1800, to be paid in seven years.—*Ib.*, 242, 243. Again, in 1627, "with the return of the ships," he was commissioned to carry out the necessary bonds to the adventurers at London, to sell the company's beaver, and procure a patent for a settlement on the Kennebec. "Having settled all things in a hopeful way," and made provision for the passage of some of their friends at Leyden, he returned early in the spring of 1628.—*Ib.*, 245, 246, 247. Mr. Shirley calls him "your honest, wise, and discreet agent."—*Mass. Hist. Coll.*, iii., 58. He made two voyages to England in 1629 to procure a new and enlarged patent for the colony. In his second attempt he was successful. He met many difficulties in this business; "many locks," said Shirley, "must be opened with the silver, nay, with the golden key."—*Prince*, 265. *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, iii., 70.—He did not succeed, however, in procuring, what was earnestly desired, an exemption from duties of goods to and from the colony; and probably his failure in this particular, and the expense attending the attempt, occasioned his connexion with the company to be dissolved: a harsher treatment than his faithful labours had deserved. He returned to England in 1631, and Bradford dismisses his record of the fact with saying, "being no more employed by the plantation."—*Prince*, 361. He afterward established a trading-house at Machias, and, having suffered repeated and severe losses at sea, and by fire, removed to New-Haven, probably in 1647, and died there in 1659.—*Mass. Hist. Col.*, xxvii., 243, 301. Mr. Hutchinson says that Point Alderton, near the entrance of Boston Harbour, was named from him. In Mourt's Relation (*Mass. Hist. Coll.*, viii., 231), his name is spelled Alderton. Such a memorial was due to his enterprise and integrity, and yet but a slight offset to a toilsome and sorrowful life.—*H.*]

carious health.* They appointed but one, because they were so reduced in number that to have made a greater disproportion between rulers and people would have been absurd, and they knew that it would always be in their power to increase the number at their pleasure. Their voluntary combination was designed only as a temporary expedient, till they should obtain a charter under the authority of their sovereign.

One of the first acts of Bradford's administration was, by advice of the company, to send Edward Winslow and Stephen Hopkins to Massasoit, with Squanto for their guide. The design of this embassy was to explore the country, to confirm the league, to learn the situation and strength of their new friend, to carry some presents, to apologize for some misbehaviour, to regulate the intercourse between them and the Indians, and to procure seed-corn for the next planting season.

These gentlemen found the sachem at Pokanoket,† about forty miles from Plymouth.

* Hubbard's MS. Hist., p. 49. [In the printed copy, 61.—H.]

† This was a general name for the northern shore of the Narraganset Bay, between Providence and Taunton Rivers, and comprehending the present townships of Bristol, Warren, and Barrington in the State of Rhode Island, and Swanzey in Massachusetts. Its northern extent is unknown. The principal

They delivered the presents, renewed the friendship, and satisfied themselves respecting the strength of the natives, which did not appear formidable, nor was the entertainment which they received either liberal or splendid. The marks of desolation and death, by reason of the pestilence, were very conspicuous in all the country through which they passed; but they were informed that the Narragansets, who resided on the western shore of the bay of that name, were very numerous, and that the pestilence had not reached them.

After the return of this embassy, another was sent to Nauset,* to recover a boy who had straggled from Plymouth, and had been taken up by some of the Indians of that place. They were so fortunate as to recover the boy, and make peace with Aspinet, the sachem, whom they paid for the seed-corn which they had taken out of the ground at Paomet in the preceding autumn.† During

seats of the sachem were at *Sowams* and *Kikèmvit*. The former is a neck of land formed by the confluence of Barrington and Palmer's Rivers; the latter is Mount Hope.—See Callender's *Century Discourse*, p. 30, 73.

* [Now Eastham.—Mass. Hist. Coll., viii., 159.—H.]

† Mourt's *Relation* in Purchas, iv., 1853. [And in Mass. Hist. Coll., viii.—H.]

this expedition, an old woman, who had never before seen any white people, burst into tears of grief and rage at the sight of them. She had lost three sons by the perfidy of Thomas Hunt, who decoyed them, with others, on board his ship, and sold them for slaves. Squanto, who was present, told her that he had been carried away at the same time ; that Hunt was a bad man ; that his countrymen disapproved his conduct, and that the English at Plymouth would not offer them any injury. This declaration, accompanied by a small present, appeased her anger, though it was impossible to remove the cause of her grief.

It was fortunate for the colony that they had secured the friendship of Massasoit, for his influence was found to be very extensive. He was regarded and revered by all the natives, from the Bay of Narraganset to that of Massachusetts. Though some of the petty sachems were disposed to be jealous of the new colony, and to disturb its peace, yet their mutual connexion with Massasoit proved the means of its preservation ; as a proof of which, nine of these sachems voluntarily came to Plymouth and subscribed an instrument of submission in the following terms, viz. :

“September 13, Anno Domini 1621. Know all men by these presents, that we, whose names are underwritten, do acknowledge ourselves to be the loyal subjects of King James, king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. In witness whereof, and as a testimonial of the same, we have subscribed our names or marks as followeth :

Ohquamehud, Nattawahunt, Quadequina,
Cawnacome, Caunbatant, Huttamoiden,
Obbatinua, Chikatabak, Apannow.”*

* [Judge Davis, in his note to Morton's Memorial, gives some additional information of these chiefs. “Obbatinua, or Obbatinowat, was one of the Massachusetts sachems ; his residence was on or near the Peninsula of Shawmut (Boston). Chikatabak, or Chicketaubut, was the sagamore of Neponset (Dorchester), and is frequently mentioned in the History of Massachusetts.—[See especially the early part of Winthrop's Journal.] He died of the smallpox in November, 1633. These Massachusetts sachems were not completely independent, but acknowledged a degree of subjection to Massasoit. Caunbatant, or Corbitant : his residence was at Mattapuyst, a neck of land in the township of Swansey. Mr. Winslow, who had frequent conferences with him at his wigwam and at other places, represents him as a hollow-hearted friend to the Plymouth planters, ‘a notable politician, yet full of merry jests and squibs, and never better pleased than when the like are returned again upon him.’ Quindaquina was a brother of Massasoit. Of the other five sachems who signed the instrument of submission, no satisfactory account can be given.”

[Cawnacome, or Caunacum, was sachem of Manomet (Sand-

Hobbamock,* another of these subordinate chiefs, came and took up his residence at

wich), and died, it is said, in 1623.—Prince, 208, 214. The name Apannow has a singular resemblance to Epenow, who was a native of the southern part of Cape Cod, and returned from England with Captain Harley in 1614.—Prince, 133. Yet an identity of person is hardly probable.] “In Mourt’s Relation, as quoted by Mr. Prince (196), it is said, ‘Yea, Massasoit, in writing, under his hand to Captain Standish, has owned the King of England to be his master, both he and many other kings under him, as of Pamet (Truro), Nauset (Eastham), Cummaquid, Namasket (Middleborough), with divers others who dwell about the bays of Patuxet and Massachusetts; and all this by friendly usage, love and peace, just and honest carriage, good counsel, &c.’ We may add here that Massasoit is supposed to have died about 1656, a sincere friend of the English to the last.”—H.]

* [Now commonly written Hobomok. This true friend to the English deserves a lasting remembrance. He was attached to them from the beginning, and no threats, or danger, or enticements could seduce him from his faithfulness. They were often indebted for much of their advantage and safety to the sagacity of his observation and of his counsels. He served them in every way, as guide, companion, counsellor, and friend, unmoved by the ridicule and scorn of those whom he had abandoned, and unawed by the sworn hatred of the savage and wily Corbitant. His services were acknowledged by a grant of lands in the colony. Gentle and guileless in his temper, he was easily won by the pure and simple truths of religion, and, spite of all temptation, professed himself a Christian. We are not informed of the date of his death, but are told in a work published in 1642 (*New-England’s First Fruits*), that “he died amongst them (the English), leaving some good hopes in their hearts that his soul went to rest.”—Note to Morton, 212. Mrs. Child has written an interesting novel, entitled *Hobomok*, of which he is the hero.—H.]

Plymouth, where he continued as a faithful guide and interpreter as long as he lived. The Indians of the Island of Capawock, which had now obtained the name of Martha's or Martin's Vineyard, also sent messengers of peace.

Having heard much of the Bay of Massachusetts, both from the Indians and the English fishermen, Governor Bradford appointed ten men, with Squanto and two other Indians, to visit the place and trade with the natives. On the 18th of September they sailed in a shallop, and the next day got to the bottom of the bay, where they landed under a cliff,* and were kindly received by Obbatinua, the sachem who had subscribed the submission at Plymouth a few days before. He renewed his submission, and received a promise of assistance and defence against the squaw sachem of Massachusetts, and other enemies.

The appearance of this bay was pleasing. They saw the mouths of two rivers which emptied into it. The islands were cleared of wood, and had been planted, but most of the people who had inhabited them either were dead or had removed. Those who remained were continually in fear of the Tarra-

* Supposed to be Copp's Hill, in the town of Boston.

tenes, who frequently came from the eastward in a hostile manner, and robbed them of their corn. In one of these predatory invasions, Nanepashamet, a sachem, had been slain; his body lay buried under a frame, surrounded by an intrenchment and palisade. A monument on the top of a hill designated the place where he was killed.

Having explored the bay and collected some beaver, the shallop returned to Plymouth, and brought so good a report of the place that the people wished they had been seated there. But, having planted corn and built huts at Plymouth, and being there in security from the natives, they judged the motives for continuance to be stronger than for removal. Many of their posterity have judged otherwise.

In November a ship* arrived from England with thirty-five passengers to augment the colony. Unhappily, they were so short of provision that the people of Plymouth were obliged to victual the ship home, and then put themselves and the new-comers to half allowance. Before the next spring (1622) the colony began to feel the rigour of famine.

* [The ship was the *Fortune*, of fifty-five tons. She arrived November 9th.—Prince, 198.—H.]

In the height of this distress, the governor received from Canonicus, sachem of Narraganset, a threatening message, in the emblematic style of the ancient Scythians, a bundle of arrows bound with the skin of a serpent. The governor sent an answer in the same style, the skin of the serpent filled with powder and ball. The Narragansets, afraid of its contents, sent it back unopened, and here the correspondence ended.

It was now judged proper to fortify the town. Accordingly, it was surrounded with a stockade and four flankarts; a guard was kept by day and night, the company being divided into four squadrons. A select number were appointed, in case of accidental fire, to mount guard with their backs to the fire, to prevent a surprise from the Indians. Within the stockade was enclosed the top of the hill, under which the town was built, and a sufficiency of land for a garden to each family. The works were begun in February, and finished in March.

At this time the famine was very severe. Fish and spring-water were the only provision on which the people subsisted. The want of bread reduced their flesh; yet they had so much health and spirit, that, on hear-

ing of the massacre in Virginia, they erected an additional fort on the top of the hill, with a flat roof, on which the guns were mounted; the lower story served them for a place of worship. Sixty acres of ground were planted with corn; and their gardens were sown with the seeds of other esculent vegetables in great plenty.

The arrival of two ships* with a new colony, sent out by Thomas Weston, but without provisions, was an additional misfortune. Some of these people, being sick, were lodged in the hospital at Plymouth till they were so far recovered as to join their companions, who seated themselves at Wessagusset, since called Weymouth.

The first supply of provision was obtained from the fishing vessels, of which thirty-five came this spring from England to the coast. In August two ships† arrived with trading

* [The Charity, of one hundred tons, and the Swan, of thirty. The Charity, having gone on to Virginia, returned to Weymouth, and thence to England. The Swan remained at Weymouth for the use of the colonists.—H.]

† [The Sparrow, Mr. Weston's, sent out on a fishing voyage, and the Discovery, on an expedition to explore the coast from Cape Cod to Virginia, and now homeward bound. "This ship," says Morton (p. 83), speaking of the latter, "had store of English beads (which were then good trade) and some knives, but would sell none but at dear rates, and also a good quantity

goods, which the planters bought at a great disadvantage, giving beaver in exchange. The summer being dry, and the harvest short, it became necessary to make excursions among the natives to procure corn and beans with the goods purchased from the ships. Governor Bradford undertook this service,* having Squanto for his guide and interpreter, who was taken ill on the passage, and died at Manamoik. Before his death, he requested the governor to pray for him, "that he might go to the Englishman's God."

In these excursions Mr. Bradford was treated by the natives with great respect, and the trade was conducted on both parts with justice and confidence. At Nauset, the shallop being stranded, it was necessary to put the corn which had been purchased in stack, and to leave it, covered with mats and sedge,

together; yet they (the planters) were glad of the occasion, and fain to buy at any rate; they were fain to give after the rate of cent. per cent., if not more, and yet pay away coat beaver at three shillings per pound," "which a few years after yields twenty shillings a pound." —Prince, 205.—H.]

* [This was in November, and was the first attempt to go round the cape outside to the southward. He found no passage through the shoal at the southern extremity of it, and put in at Manamoik, now Chatham. After the death of Squanto Bradford sailed to Massachusetts, and thence to Nauset, now called Eastham.—H.]

in the care of the Indians, while the governor and his party came home, fifty miles, on foot. It remained there from November to January, and, when another shallop was sent, it was found in perfect safety, and the stranded shallop was recovered.*

At Namasket [Middleborough], an inland place, he bought another quantity, which was brought home, partly by the people of the colony and partly by the Indian women, their men disdaining to bear burdens.

At Manomet [Sandwich] he bargained for more, which he was obliged to leave till March, when Captain Standish went and fetched it home, the Indian women bringing it down to the shallop. The whole quantity thus purchased amounted to twenty-eight hogsheads of corn and beans, of which Weston's people had a share, as they had joined in the purchase.

In the spring (1623) the governor received a message from Massasoit that he was sick, on which occasion it is usual for all the friends of the Indians to visit them or send them presents. Mr. Winslow again went to visit the sachem, accompanied by Mr. John Hampden,† and they had Hobbamock for

* Winslow, in Purchas, iv., 1858.

† In Winslow's Journal, Mr. Hampden is said to be "a gen-

their guide and interpreter. The visit was very consolatory to their sick friend, and the more so as Winslow carried him some cordials, and made him broth after the English mode, which contributed to his recovery. In return for this friendly attention, Massasoit communicated to Hobbamock intelligence of a dangerous conspiracy, then in agitation among the Indians, in which he had been solicited

tleman of London, who then wintered with us, and desired much to see the country." I suppose this to be the same person who distinguished himself by his opposition to the illegal and arbitrary demands of King Charles I. He had previously (1637) embarked for New-England with Oliver Cromwell, Sir Arthur Haslerig, and others; but they were prevented from coming by the king's "proclamation against disorderly transporting his majesty's subjects to the plantations in America." Hampden was born in 1594, and was 29 years old at the time of his being at Plymouth in 1623.—See Neal's Hist. N. E., vol. i., 151. Hazard's State Papers, vol. i., 421. Northouck's Biographical Dictionary, H A M.*

* [I can hardly believe that John Hampden ever came to America. His late biographer, Lord Nugent, does not allude to it, which is a strong negative proof. The narrative in the text is the only early New-England writing in which it is mentioned. Yet, when Hampden's fame became great in England, would not those whose solitude he had shared have sometimes referred to it in thankfulness, if not in boasting? He could have come only in some fishing vessel, and would he have chosen such a conveyance? He had but just entered on public life in Parliament, and why should he have left his ambition and his new-made home for a winter's sojourn in a desert?—H.]

to join. Its object was nothing less than the total extirpation of the English, and it was occasioned by the imprudent conduct of Weston's people in the Bay of Massachusetts. The Indians had it in contemplation to make them the first victims, and then to fall on the people of Plymouth. Massasoit's advice was, that the English should seize and put to death the chief conspirators, whom he named, and said that this would prevent the execution of the plot. Hobbamock communicated this secret to Winslow as they were returning, and it was reported to the governor.

On this alarming occasion the whole company were assembled in court, and the news was imparted to them. Such was their confidence in the governor, that they unanimously requested him, with Allerton his assistant, to concert the best measures for their safety. The result was to strengthen the fortifications, to be vigilant at home, and to send such a force to the Bay of Massachusetts, under Captain Standish, as he should judge sufficient to crush the conspiracy. An Indian who had come into the town was suspected as a spy and confined in irons. Standish, with eight chosen men and the faithful Hobbamock, went in the shallop to Weston's planta-

tion, having goods, as usual, to trade with the Indians. Here he met the persons who had been named as conspirators, who personally insulted and threatened him. A quarrel ensued, in which seven of the Indians were killed. The others were so struck with terror that they forsook their houses and retreated to the swamps, where many of them died with cold and hunger; the survivors would have sued for peace, but were afraid to go to Plymouth. Weston's people were so apprehensive of the consequences of this affair, that they quitted the plantation; and the people of Plymouth, who offered them protection, which they would not accept, were glad to be rid of such troublesome neighbours.

Thus, by the spirited conduct of a handful of brave men, in conformity to the advice of the friendly sachem, the whole conspiracy was annihilated. But, when the report of this transaction was carried to their brethren in Holland, Mr. Robinson, in his next letter to the governor, lamented with great concern and tenderness, "O that you had converted some before you had killed any!"*

The scarcity which they had hitherto experienced was partly owing to the increase

* Prince, 146.

of their numbers and the scantiness of their supplies from Europe,* but principally to

* [This scarcity sometimes reduced them to extreme distress. For the first year they eked out the stock of provisions they brought with them by fishing and fowling, roots and clams. The first ship that came from England, November, 1621, brought them thirty-five new settlers, and no supply of provisions. "They never had any supply to any purpose after this time, but what the Lord helped them to raise by their own industry among themselves; for all that came afterward was too short for the passengers that came with it."—Morton, 79. "About the end of May (1622) our store of victuals was wholly spent, having lived long before with a bare and short allowance; and, indeed, had we not been in a place where divers sorts of shellfish are, that may be taken with the hand, we must have perished, unless God had raised up some unknown or extraordinary means for our preservation."—Winslow's Relation, Mass. Hist. Coll., viii., 245, 246. Winslow was sent to the fishing-vessels at Monhiggon, on the coast of Maine, to seek supplies, and procured enough to give each person a quarter of a pound of bread a day till harvest.—Prince, 202. This year they planted nearly sixty acres of corn, but the harvest proved a scanty year's supply for the colony, "partly by reason they were not yet well acquainted with the manner of the husbandry of the Indian corn . . . but chiefly their weakness for want of food."—Morton, 83. Hence the governor's voyages, already mentioned, for the purchase of corn. They had not all and always "trading-stuffs," and were forced to borrow of the natives, and were sorely tempted, like Weston's men, to steal. In 1623, Governor Bradford says (Prince, 216), "By the time our corn is planted our victuals are spent; not knowing at night where to have a bit in the morning, and have neither bread nor corn for three or four months together, yet bear our wants with cheerfulness and rest on Providence." In August of this year sixty new settlers arrived, of whom he says (Ib., 221), "the best dish we could present them with is a lob-

their mode of labouring in common, and putting the fruit of their labour into the public store; an error which had the same effect here as in Virginia. To remedy this evil, as far as was consistent with their engagements,* it was agreed, in the spring of 1623, that every family should plant for themselves on such ground as should be assigned to them by lot, without any division for inheritance;† and that, in the time of harvest, a competent portion should be brought into the common store, for the maintenance of the public officers, fishermen, and such other persons as could not be employed in agriculture.‡ This regulation gave a spring to industry; the women and children cheerfully went to work with the men in the fields, and much more corn

ster or piece of fish, without bread, or anything else but a cup of fair spring water; and the long continuance of this diet, with our labours abroad, hath somewhat abated the freshness of our complexions.” After this their harvests were plentiful, and corn became soon an article of export.—H.]

* [They were compelled to put the produce of their labours into a common stock, by their agreement with the adventurers in England. See page 307, vol. ii., for the articles.—H.]

† Prince, 123. Purchas, iv., 1866.

‡ [This, says Morton (Memorial, 93), “was thought the best way, and accordingly *given way* unto.” The later departures from the original plan will be found noted in the Life of Cushman, p. 75 of this volume.—H.]

was planted than ever before. Having but one boat, the men were divided into parties of six or seven, who took their turns to catch fish; the shore afforded them shellfish, and groundnuts served them for bread. When any deer was killed the flesh was divided among the whole colony. Water-fowl came in plenty at the proper season, but the want of boats prevented them from being taken in great numbers. Thus they subsisted through the third summer, in the latter end of which two vessels arrived with sixty passengers. The harvest was plentiful, and after this time they had no general want of food, because they had learned to depend on their own exertions rather than on foreign supplies.

The combination which they made before their landing at Cape Cod was the first foundation of their government; but, as they were driven to this expedient by necessity, it was intended to subsist no longer than till they could obtain legal authority from their sovereign.* As soon as they knew of the establishment of the Council of New-England, they applied for a patent, which was taken in the name of John Peirce,† in trust for the colony.

* Morton, 45. Prince, 136. Mag, i., 12.

† [Of Peirce I have no other information than that given by

When he saw that they were well seated, and that there was a prospect of success to their undertaking, he went without their knowledge, but in their name, and solicited the council for another patent of greater extent, intending to keep it to himself, and allow them no more than he pleased, holding them as his tenants, to sue and be sued at his courts. In pursuance of this design, having obtained the patent, he bought a ship, which he named the *Paragon*, loaded her with goods, took on board upward of sixty passengers, and sailed from London for the colony of New-Plymouth. In the Downs he was overtaken by a tempest, which so damaged the ship that he was obliged to put her into dock, where she lay seven weeks, and her repairs cost him one hundred pounds. In December, 1622, he sailed a second time, having on board one hundred and nine persons ; but a

Dr. Belknap. The patent which was taken in his name was dated June 1, 1621. It gave to the patentee and his associates one hundred acres of land each, and one hundred for each person settled in the proposed colony, to be taken in any place not inhabited by the English. and subject to a rent to the council of two shillings for every hundred acres : a free fishery also was given, freedom of trade with England and the Indians, and authority to defend them by force of arms against all intruders.—Morton's Memorial, Appendix F.—H.]

series of tempestuous weather, which continued fourteen days, disabled his ship, and forced him back to Portsmouth. These repeated disappointments proved so discouraging to him, that he was easily prevailed upon by the company of adventurers to assign his patent to them for five hundred pounds. The passengers came over in other ships.

In 1629, another patent of larger extent was solicited by Isaac Allerton, and taken out in the name of "William Bradford, his heirs, associates, and assigns."*† This patent confirmed their title (as far as the crown of England could confirm it) to a tract of land bounded on the east and south by the Atlantic Ocean, and by lines drawn west from the Rivulet of Conohasset, and north from the River of Narraganset, which lines meet in a

* Hazard, i., 298.

† [This patent was dated January 13th, 1630 (N. S.). Besides confirming their title to their lands, this charter conferred on them liberty to fish, to trade with the natives, to make laws not contrary to those of England, and to "seize and make prize of all who attempt to inhabit or trade with the natives within the limits of their plantation, or attempt their detriment or annoyance." Hazard, as cited above, gives the charter; see also Prince, 269. It also gave, what they could hardly have supposed themselves to enjoy, a just and legal ground to their government and laws, and relieved them from the uncertain force of their own compact. The labours of Mr. Allerton in procuring this patent have been briefly noticed in a former note.—H.]

point, comprehending all the country called Pokanoket. To this tract they supposed they had a prior title from the depopulation of a great part of it by a pestilence, from the gift of Massasoit, his voluntary subjection to the crown of England, and his having taken protection of them. In a declaration published by them in 1636, they asserted their "lawful right in respect of vacancy, donation, and purchase of the natives,"* which, together with their patent from the crown, through the Council of New-England, formed "the warrantable ground and foundation of their government, of making laws and disposing of lands."†

* Hazard, i., 404.

† In 1639, after the termination of the Pequod war, Massasoit, who had then changed his name to Woosamequen, brought his son Mooanam to Plymouth, and desired that the league which he had formerly made might be renewed and made inviolable. The sachem and his son voluntarily promised, "for themselves and their successors, that they would not needlessly nor unjustly raise any quarrels or do any wrong to other natives to provoke them to war against the colony; and that they would not give, sell, or convey any of their lands, territories, or possessions whatever, to any person or persons whomsoever, without the privity or consent of the government of Plymouth, other than to such as the said government should send or appoint. The whole court did then ratify and confirm the aforesaid league, and promise to the said Woosamequen, his son and successors, that they would defend them against all such as should unjustly rise up against them, to wrong or oppress them."—Morton's memorial. 150.

In the same patent was granted a large tract bordering on the River Kennebec, where they had carried on a traffic with the natives for furs, as they did also at Connecticut River, which was not equally beneficial, because they there had the Dutch for rivals.* The fur-trade was found to be much more advantageous than the fishery. Sometimes they exchanged corn of their own growth for furs; but European coarse cloths, hardware, and ornaments were good articles of trade when they could command them.

The company in England with which they were connected did not supply them in plenty. Losses were sustained by sea; the returns were not adequate to their expectations; they became discouraged, threw many reflections on the planters, and finally refused them any farther supplies;† but still demanded the debt due from them, and would not permit them to connect themselves in trade with any other persons. The planters complained to the Council of New-England, but obtained no redress. After the expiration of the seven years (1628) for which the

* Hutch., ii., 469. Prince, 157.

† Bradford's Letters in the Collections of the Historical Society, vol. iii., p. 29, 36, 60.

contract was made, eight of the principal persons in the colony, with four of their friends in London, became bound for the balance,*

* [The company of adventurers began to grow dissatisfied as early as 1622, and were speedily discouraged. And not without good reason. The most of them had entered into the scheme purely as a commercial speculation. In 1624, their expenses had already exceeded seven thousand pounds, for which they had received a very slight return. They became anxious, as prudent men might well be, to escape from their connexion with an enterprise which had thus far proved a failure, and of the future success of which they could have no assurance. In the course of this year a large number of them refused all farther partnership, which Mr. Cushman formally announced to Governor Bradford, in a letter dated December 18. The colonists at Plymouth were hardly less willing to abandon a connexion which depressed industry among them, exhausted the profits of their labour, and now held out to them little prospect of a recompense for their past services, or of aid for the future. When they learned that the adventurers were beginning to withdraw, Governor Bradford wrote, in reply to Cushman, "Our people will never agree any way again to unite with the company, who have cast them off with such reproach and contempt, and also returned their bills and all their debts upon their heads. . . . Nay, they would rather ruin what is done than they should possess it."—Mass. Hist. Coll., iii., 29, 36. Accordingly, in the summer of 1625 they sent Captain Miles Standish to England, "as agent in behalf of the plantation, in reference unto some particulars yet depending betwixt them and the adventurers." The plague, then raging in London, prevented the completion of his business, and he only "left things in a fair way for future composition."—Morton, 125. Allerton was sent the next year, and, after two more voyages (see note to page 10), consummated a bargain with the adventurers. They assigned to the colonists all their property in the stock of the company for the sum

and from that time took the whole trade into their own hands. These were obliged to take up money at an exorbitant interest, and to go deeply into trade at Kennebec, Penobscot, and Connecticut; by which means, and their own great industry and economy, they were enabled to discharge the debt, and pay for the transportation of thirty-five families of their friends from Leyden, who arrived in 1629.*

of eighteen hundred pounds, and Bradford, with eight others, gave their several bonds for the payment of it, in annual instalments of £200 every Michaelmas. These nine undertakers, as they were called, also agreed with the colonists to pay all their other debts in England, amounting to six hundred pounds.—Mass. Hist. Coll., iii., 46–51, 58. So poor, however, was their credit in the money market in London, that Mr. Allerton, on the joint order and obligation of the principal men of the colony, raised only £200, “at thirty in the hundred interest.”—H.]

* [They were obliged to take up money at thirty, forty, and even fifty per cent. These thirty-five families, says Governor Bradford, “we were fain to keep eighteen months at our charge ere they could reap any harvest to live upon; all which together fell heavy upon us.”—Mass. Hist. Coll., 58, 74. So severe were their pecuniary troubles. Yet their engagements were all faithfully discharged.

To enable themselves to pay the debts they had thus assumed, the undertakers obtained of the colonists an exclusive right to the trade of the colony for six years from the end of September, 1627.—Ib., 59–61. Prince, 245. The progress and extent of the trade of the colony deserves a more particular notice than the allusion in the text. On the return of the *Fortune* in 1621, they sent home a cargo of furs, clapboards, and sassafras, val-

The patent had been taken in the name of Mr. Bradford, in trust for the colony; and the

ued at £500. This was taken by the French, and lost. In 1623, September 10, they sent a similar cargo in the *Ann*. Their trading voyages thus far were confined to one or two, by Winslow and Standish, to the fishermen "down East," and to the Indians of Massachusetts Bay for furs; and their exchanges were few, and on hard terms, with the vessels that now and then touched on their coast. In 1624 a carpenter was sent out by the company, who built "two very good and strong shallops, with a great and strong lighter." Their own pinnace had been stranded on the cape. In 1625 one of these was first used, in a voyage to the Kennebec, to dispose of the surplus corn of that year's abundant harvest. Governor Bradford gives an interesting account of the manner of this expedition. "We laid a deck over her midship to keep the corn dry; but the men were forced to stand in all weathers without any shelter, and the time of year begins to grow tempestuous, but God preserves and prospers them, for they bring home seven hundred weight of beaver, besides other fur, having little or nothing but our corn to purchase them. This voyage was made by Mr. Winslow and some old standards, for seamen we have none."—Prince, 235. See also Hubbard, 94. They were also engaged in fishing, and had erected buildings for this purpose at Nantasket and Cape Ann; but it was less profitable than trading. In 1626 corn was worth six shillings the bushel. The shallops being found inconveniently small and open, they employed a housewright, the ship-carpenter being dead, to saw the largest across the middle, lengthen her five or six feet, and put on a deck. She was then fitted with sails, &c., and did service seven years.—*Ib.*, 240. They seem to have made but one, and that an unsuccessful, attempt to sail round Cape Cod to the south, which has been referred to in a previous note. What extent of trade they had with the region southwest of the cape we are not precisely informed, but it must have been considera-

event proved that their confidence was not misplaced. When the number of people was

ble. For early in the summer of 1627, to avoid the shoals of the cape, they built a pinnace on the south side of the peninsula on the sea, at Manomet, not far from Sandwich, where also they built a house, and kept some men stationed. At this place two small creeks, one running into the ocean and the other into Cape Cod Bay, have their source within a few miles of each other. Having brought their goods up one of them, they carried them over land four or five miles, and down the other to the ocean, where their pinnace lay.—*Ib.*, 244. This route was both shorter and safer, and has been used somewhat in later times, and, indeed, is the route of the proposed and much-talked of canal to connect Buzzard's and Cape Cod Bays. This same year, so profitable was the trade, that Bradford wrote to the council, June 15, complaining of "many who, without license, trade and traffic, and truck, to get what they can, whether by right or wrong, and then be gone."—*Mass. Hist. Coll.*, iii., 56.

The first direct knowledge which the Plymouth settlers had of their Dutch neighbours at Manhattan seems to have been by the driving ashore of one of their ships in Narraganset Bay, in March, 1623.—*Prince*, 211. Their first intercourse with them was in March, 1627, when a letter was received from Isaac de Razier, agent of the Dutch Company, and "second to the governor," proposing to open a traffic with them. Governor Bradford made a courteous reply, consenting to deal with them, but informing them of their commission to expel intruders on their limits (40° south), and especially desiring them to "forbear trading with the natives in Plymouth Bay, and the Narraganset River, and Sowames." The Dutch rejoined, affirming their right to trade in those parts, by commission from the States of Holland, "which they would defend." Governor Bradford proposed a conference, and in September De Razier came to Plymouth, and they made some arrangements towards a mutually advantageous commerce. He first acquainted them with

increased, and new townships were erected, the General Court, in 1640, requested that he

wampum, of which they afterward made much profit. Bradford still insisted that the Dutch should "clear the title of their planting in those parts," significantly adding, that thereafter it might be settled "not without blows."—See the correspondence, &c., *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, iii., 51–57.

It is probable from what has been said, as well as from the earlier date and commercial character of the settlement at New-York, that the Dutch were first used to traffic on the Connecticut River. Indeed, Morton says expressly that they told them of Plymouth of it as a good place for planting and trade; but "their hands being full otherwise, they let it pass." They were afterward induced to think seriously of it by the representations of some Indians, who had been driven from their country by the Pequods.—*Memorial*, 171. The settlers at Massachusetts Bay, in 1631, declined entering into the scheme (*Winthrop's Journal*, 52), and Plymouth undertook the plantation alone. The expedition was conducted by Lieutenant Holmes, who carried with him the frame of a house, and, passing up the river, in defiance of the Dutch, who had a fort with ten pieces of cannon a little above Hartford, erected and fortified his house at Windsor October 25, 1633.—*Trumbull, Hist. of Conn.*, i., 21. *Prince*, 435, 436. The question of the prior discovery of the river, it seems, therefore, must be decided in favour of the Dutch, though *Trumbull* (l. c.) asserts the contrary. The question of prior occupancy, which was then a vexed one, and now possesses some historical interest, is one of words, as the Dutch had a fort there first, and the Plymouth people a trading-house first; or else, by their own showing, those of Plymouth have the worst of the case. There is no evidence, and it is highly improbable, that, as *Smith* asserts (*Hist. of New-York*, 19, 8vo ed.), the Dutch built a fort there in 1623. The title to the lands, by purchase of the Indians, was clearly in the English. They claimed through the heredi-

would surrender the patent into their hands.* To this he readily consented; and, by a written instrument under his hand and seal, surrendered it to them, reserving for himself no more than his proportion, by previous agreement. This was done in open court, and the patent was immediately redelivered into his custody.

While they were few in number, the whole body of associates or freemen assembled for tary lord of the soil, the Dutch through a usurper.—See Hazard, ii., 262. Hutch., Mass., ii., 416, 417. Winslow's Letter to Winthrop in 1643. There can be no doubt of the course of trade after the river was settled by the English.—Winthrop, i., 138. It was a capital market for furs, otter, and beaver, and formed a route to Canada by water, saving a few miles only of land carriage.—Trumbull, i., 23.

January 13th, 1630, a patent was granted by the Council for New-England to the colonists at Plymouth, of a tract of fifteen miles on each side of the Kennebec. About the same time Mr. Shirley and others took out a patent for lands on the Penobscot, and sent out Edward Ashley, one of their number, to superintend their operations there. In this enterprise those of Plymouth were induced, though reluctantly, to join, and a trading-house was built.—Mass. Hist. Coll., iii., 70–74. Winthrop, i., 166. This establishment was soon after taken by the French, who retained it, in spite of all efforts to dislodge them, till 1654. The trade to the Kennebec seems to have been quite profitable. "Our neighbours of Plymouth," says Governor Winthrop (Journal, i., 138), "had great trade this year (1634) at Kennebec, so as Mr. Winslow carried with him to England about twenty hogsheads of beaver."—H.]

* Hazard, i., 298, 468.

legislative, executive, and judicial business.* In 1634 the governor and assistants were constituted a Judicial Court, and afterward the Supreme Judiciary.† Petty offences, and actions of debt, trespass, and damage, not exceeding forty shillings, were tried by the selectmen of each town, with liberty of appeal to the next Court of Assistants. The first Assembly of Representatives was held in 1639, when two deputies were sent from each town, and four from Plymouth. In 1649 Plymouth was restricted to the same number with the other towns. These deputies were chosen by the freemen; and none were admitted to the privilege of freemen but such as were twenty-one years of age, of sober and peaceable conversation, orthodox in the fundamentals of religion, and possessed of twenty pounds rateable estate.

By the former patent the colony of Plymouth was empowered "to enact such laws as should most befit a state in its nonage, not rejecting or omitting to observe such of the laws of their native country as would conduce to their good."‡ In the second patent the power of government was granted to William

* Hutch., ii., 467.

† Plymouth Laws.

‡ Preface to Plymouth Laws, by Secretary Morton.

Bradford and his associates in the following terms :* “To frame and make orders, ordinances, and constitutions, as well for the better government of their affairs here [in England], and the receiving or admitting any to his or their society, as also for the better government of his or their people at sea, in going thither or returning from thence ; and the same to be put in execution by such officers and ministers as he or they shall authorize and depute ; provided that the said laws be not repugnant to the laws of England, or the frame of government by the said president and council hereafter to be established.”

At that time, a general government over the whole territory of New-England was a favourite object with the council which granted these patents ; but, after several attempts, it finally miscarried, to the no small joy of the planters, who were then at liberty to govern themselves.†

* Hazard, i., 302.

† [One essay towards it was made as early as 1623. In June of that year Captain Francis West came to Plymouth, “who had a commission to be Admiral of New-England, to restrain interlopers, and such fishing ships as came to fish and trade without license ; but, finding the fishermen stubborn fellows,” he sailed away to Virginia.—Prince, 218. Morton’s Memorial, 97, 98. In September of the same year Robert

In the formation of the laws of New-Plymouth, regard was had, "primarily and principally, to the ancient platform of God's law." For, though some parts of that system were peculiar to the circumstances of the sons of Jacob, yet "the whole being grounded on principles of moral equity," it was the opinion of our first planters, not at Plymouth only, but in Massachusetts, New-Haven, and Connecticut, that "all men, especially Christians, ought to have an eye to it in the framing of their political constitutions."* A secondary regard was had to the liberties granted to them by their sovereign and the laws of England, which they supposed "any impartial person might discern, in the perusal of the book of the laws of the colony."

At first they had some doubt concerning their right of punishing capital crimes. A **murder** which happened in 1630 made it necessary to decide this question. It was de Gorges, son of Sir Ferdinando, arrived, with "a commission to be governor-general of the country." He returned the same year and relinquished his commission, "finding the state of things not to answer his quality and condition."—Morton, 104, 108. In July, 1637, Sir Ferdinando Gorges was appointed by King Charles governor-general over all New-England, though he never exercised the powers of that office.—Chalmers, 162. For the scheme of twelve governors, see Winthrop, i., 161.—H.]

* Preface to Plymouth Laws.

cided by the divine law against shedding human blood, which was deemed indispensable.* In 1636 their Code of Laws was revised, and capital crimes were enumerated and defined. In 1671 it was again revised, and the next year printed, with this title: "The Book of the General Laws of the Inhabitants of the Jurisdiction of New-Plymouth;"† a title very similar to the codes of Massachusetts and Connecticut, which were printed at the same time, by Samuel Green, at Cambridge.

* [Their doubt arose probably on the question whether their charter gave them this power. The question was decided by the advice of their "neighbours of Massachusetts," by higher considerations, "that the land might be purged from blood."—Hutch., Mass., ii., 413. Winthrop's Journal, i., 36.—H.]

† Governor Hutchinson, with unaccountable carelessness, has asserted (vol. ii., 463) that they "never established any distinct code or body of laws;" grounding the assertion on a passage in Hubbard's MS. History, which implies no such thing. The quotation, imperfectly given by Hutchinson, is correctly as follows (p. 50):

"The laws they intended to be governed by were the laws of England, the which they were willing to be subject to, though in a foreign land; and have, since that time, continued in that mind for the general, adding only some particular municipal laws of their own in such cases where the common laws and statutes of England could not well reach, or afford them help in emergent difficulties of the place; possibly on the same ground that Pacavius sometimes advised his neighbours of Capua not to cashier their old magistrates till they could agree on better to place in their room. So did these choose to abide by the laws of England till they could be provided of better."

The piety, wisdom, and integrity of Mr. Bradford were such prominent features in his character, that he was annually chosen governor as long as he lived, excepting three years when Mr. Winslow,* and two when Mr. Prince,† were chosen; and even then Mr. Bradford was the first in the list of assistants, which gave him the rank of deputy-governor. In 1624 they chose five assistants, and in 1633 seven, the governor having a double vote. These augmentations were made at the earnest request of Mr. Bradford, who strongly recommended a rotation in the election of a governor, but could not obtain it for more than five years in thirty-five, and never for more than two years in succession.‡ His argument was, “that if it were any honour or benefit, others besides himself should partake of it; if it were a burden, others besides himself should help

* [Edward Winslow was chosen for the years 1633, 1636, and 1644.—H.]

† [Thomas Prince (he spelled his name Prence) was chosen in 1634 and 1638.—H.]

‡ [The Plymouth colonists were not office-seekers. They had other more important cares than the show of place. In 1632 they enacted a law, that whoever should refuse the office of governor, unless he were elected for two successive years, should be fined £20. In like manner, a fine of £10 was imposed on those who refused to serve as magistrates.—H.]

to bear it.”* Notwithstanding the reasonableness and equity of his plea, the people had such a strong attachment to him, and confidence in him, that they could not be persuaded to leave him out of the government.

For the last twelve years of his life he was annually chosen without interruption, and served in the office of governor. His health continued good till the autumn of 1656, when it began to decline, and, as the next spring advanced, he became weaker, but felt not any acute illness till the beginning of May.

After a distressing day, his mind was in the following night so elevated with the idea of futurity, that he said to his friends in the morning, “God has given me a pledge of my happiness in another world, and the first fruits of eternal glory.” The next day, being the ninth of May, 1657, he was removed from this world by death, in the sixty-ninth year of his age, to the immense loss and grief of the people, not only in Plymouth, but the neighbouring colonies, four† of which he

* Morton, p. 53.

† These four colonies were Massachusetts, Connecticut, New-Haven, and Rhode Island.

lived to see established, besides that of which he was one of the principal founders.

In addition to what has been said of Mr. Bradford's character, it may be observed that he was a sensible man, of a strong mind, a sound judgment, and a good memory. Though not favoured with a learned education, he was much inclined to study and writing. The French and Dutch languages were familiar to him, and he attained a considerable knowledge of the Latin and Greek ; but he more assiduously studied the Hebrew, because he said that " he would see with his own eyes the ancient oracles of God in their native beauty."*

He had read much of history and philosophy, but theology was his favourite study. He was able to manage the polemic part of it with much dexterity, and was particularly vigilant against the sectaries which infested the colonies, though by no means severe or intolerant as long as they continued peaceable ; wishing rather to foil them by argument, and guard the people against receiving their tenets, than to suppress them by violence, or cut them off by the sword of magistracy. Mr. Hubbard's character of him is, that he

* Mather's *Magnalia*, ii., 5.

was "a person of great gravity and prudence, of sober principles, and, for one of that persuasion (Brownists), very pliable, gentle, and condescending."

He wrote "A History of Plymouth People and Colony,"* beginning with the first formation of the church in 1602, and ending in 1646. It was contained in a folio volume of 270 pages. Morton's Memorial is an abridgment of it. Prince and Hutchinson had the use of it, and the manuscript was carefully deposited, with Mr. Prince's valuable Collection of Papers, in the library of the Old South Church in Boston, which fell a sacrifice to the unprincipled fury of the British army in the year 1775, since which time it has not been seen. He also had a large book of copies of letters relative to the affairs of the colony, a fragment of which was, a few years ago, recovered by accident,† and published by the Historical Society.‡ To this fragment is subjoined another, being a "Descriptive and Historical Account of New-England," in verse, which, if it be not graced

* Preface to Prince's Annals, p. vi., ix.

† It was accidentally seen in a grocer's shop at Halifax, Nova Scotia, by James Clarke, Esq., a corresponding member of the Historical Society, and by him transmitted to Boston.

‡ Collections of Hist. Soc., vol. iii., p. 27, 77.

with the charms of poetry, yet is a just and affecting narrative, intermixed with pious and useful reflections.* Besides these, he wrote, as Dr. Mather says, "some significant things, for the confutation of the errors of the times, by which it appears that he was a person of a good temper, and free from that rigid spirit of separation which broke the Separatists to pieces."

In his office of chief magistrate he was prudent, temperate, and firm. He would suffer no person to trample on the laws or disturb the peace of the colony. During his administration there were frequent accessions

* [It may not add materially to the governor's reputation, but I am disposed to insert a passage from "certain verses left" by him, "declaring the gracious dispensations of God's providence towards him," &c., as a specimen of the verse and of the man.

"From my years young in days of youth,
 God did make known to me his truth,
 And call'd me from my native place
 For to enjoy the means of grace.
 In wilderness he did me guide,
 And in strange lands for me provide.
 In fears and wants, through weal and wo,
 A pilgrim pass'd I to and fro ;
 Oft left of them whom I did trust—
 How vain it is to rest on dust !"

The rest may be found by the curious in Morton's Memorial, 264, 265.—H.]

of new inhabitants, some of whom were at first refractory, but his wisdom and fortitude obliged them to pay a decent respect to the laws and customs of the country. One particular instance is preserved. A company of young men, newly arrived, were very unwilling to comply with the governor's order for working on the public account. On a Christmas day they excused themselves under pretence that it was against their conscience to work. The governor gave them no other answer than that he would let them alone till they should be better informed. In the course of the day he found them at play in the street, and, commanding the instruments of their game to be taken from them, he told them that it was against his conscience to suffer them to play while others were at work, and that, if they had any religious regard to the day, they should show it in the exercise of devotion at home. This gentle reproof had the desired effect, and prevented a repetition of such disorders.

His conduct towards intruders and false friends was equally moderate, but firm and decisive. John Lyford had imposed himself upon the colony as a minister, being recommended by some of the adventurers. At first

his behaviour was plausible, and he was treated with respect ; but it was not long before he began, in concert with John Oldham, to excite a faction. The governor watched them ; and, when a ship was about sailing for England, it was observed that Lyford was very busy in writing letters, of which he put a great number on board. The governor, in a boat, followed the ship to sea, and, by favour of the master, who was a friend to the colony, examined the letters, some of which he intercepted and concealed. Lyford and Oldham were at first under much apprehension ; but, as nothing transpired, they concluded that the governor had only gone on board to carry his own letters, and felt themselves secure.

In one of the intercepted letters Lyford had written to his friends, the discontented part of the adventurers, that he and Oldham intended a reformation in Church and State. Accordingly, they began to institute a separate church ; and, when Oldham was summoned to take his turn at a military watch, he not only refused compliance, but abused Captain Standish, and drew his knife upon him. For this he was imprisoned, and both he and Lyford were brought to trial before the whole

company. Their behaviour was insolent and obstinate. The governor took pains to convince them of their folly, but in vain. The letters were then produced, their adherents were confounded, and the evidence of their factious and disorderly conduct being satisfactory, they were condemned, and ordered to be banished from the plantation. Lyford was allowed six months for probation; but his pretences proved hypocritical, and he was obliged to depart. After several removals he died in Virginia.* Oldham having returned after banishment, his second expulsion was conducted in this singular manner: "A guard of musketeers was appointed, through which he was obliged to pass; every one was ordered to give him a blow on the hinder parts with the butt end of his musket; then he was conveyed to the water side, where a boat was ready to carry him away, with this

* [This unhappy man came to New-England in 1624. Mr. Cushman, in a letter written at the time (January 24th), speaks of him as "a preacher, though not the most eminent, for whose going Mr. Winslow and I gave way, to give content to some at London."—Prince, 226. Bradford says he was "sent by a faction of the adventurers to hinder Mr. Robinson."—Ib., 228. For some previous immoralities, when a minister in Ireland, he had been forced to leave that country. He went from Plymouth to Nantasket, and thence to Cape Ann.—H.]

farewell, *Go, and mend your manners.*” * This discipline had a good effect on him ; he made his submission, and was allowed to come and go on trading voyages. In one of these he was killed by the Pequod Indians, which proved the occasion of a war with that nation. †

Mr. Bradford had one son by his first wife, and by his second, Alice Southworth, ‡ whom he married in 1623, he had two sons and a daughter. His son William, born in 1624, was deputy-governor of the colony after his father's death, and lived to the age of 80, as appears by his gravestone in Plymouth church-yard. One of his grandsons and two of his great-grandsons were counsellors of Massachusetts. Several others of his descendants

* Morton, 81.

† [Oldham is supposed to have come to Plymouth in the summer of 1623. Previous to his connexion with Lyford he had been highly esteemed at Plymouth, where he had been even “ called to council in chief affairs without distrust.” A passionate man, and of rude speech.—Prince, 228, 229. Leaving Plymouth, he went to Nantasket, where he remained till his sentence of banishment was in effect remitted. In the settlement at Cape Ann he was appointed to manage the trade with the Indians. He was a man of much energy, industry, and enterprise. His death took place in August, 1636.—H.]

‡ [She was a widow, with two children. The marriage, which was the fourth in the colony, was solemnized August 14th.—Prince, 221. Morton, 103, *note*.—H.]

have borne respectable characters, and have been placed in stations of honour and usefulness. One of them, William Bradford, has been deputy-governor of the State of Rhode Island, and a Senator in the Congress of the United States. Two others, Alden Bradford and Gamaliel Bradford, are members of the Historical Society.

XX. WILLIAM BREWSTER.

THE place of this gentleman's birth is unknown. The time of it was A.D. 1560.* He received his education at the University of Cambridge, where he became seriously impressed with the truth of religion, which had its genuine influence on his character through his whole life.

After leaving the University he entered into the service of William Davison, a courtier of Queen Elizabeth, and her ambassador in Scotland and in Holland, who found him so capable and faithful that he reposed the utmost confidence in him. He esteemed him as a son, and conversed with him in private, both on religious and political subjects, with the greatest familiarity; and, when anything occurred which required secrecy, Brewster was his confidential friend.

When the queen entered into a league with the United Provinces (1584), and received

* [Mr. Young says 1564. *Chronicles of the Pilgrims*, p. 469, note. This work, received while these volumes are going through the press, is characterized by singular learning, research, and exactness.—H.]

possession of several towns and forts as security for her expenses in defending their liberties, Davison, who negotiated the matter, intrusted Brewster with the keys of Flushing, one of those cautionary towns; and the States of Holland were so sensible of his merit as to present him with the ornament of a golden chain.*

He returned with the ambassador to England, and continued in his service till Davison, having incurred the hypocritical displeasure of his arbitrary mistress, was imprisoned, fined, and ruined. Davison is said to have been a man of abilities and integrity, but easy to be imposed upon, and for that very reason was made secretary of state.† When Mary, the unfortunate Queen of Scotland, had been tried and condemned, and the Parliament of England had petitioned their sovereign for her execution, Elizabeth privately ordered Davison to draw a death-warrant, which she signed, and sent him with it to the chancellor to have the great seal annexed. Having performed his duty, she pretended to blame him for his precipitancy. Davison acquainted the council with the whole transaction; they knew the queen's real sentiments, and persuaded him to send the warrant to the Earls of Kent

* Morton's Memorial, p. 154.

† Hume, vol. v., ch. 42.

and Shrewsbury, promising to justify his conduct, and take the blame on themselves. These earls attended the execution of Mary; but, when Elizabeth heard of it, she affected surprise and indignation, threw all the blame on the innocent secretary, and committed him to the Tower, where he became the subject of raillery from those very counsellors who had promised to countenance and protect him. He was tried in the Star Chamber, and fined ten thousand pounds, which, being rigorously levied upon him, reduced him to poverty.*

During these misfortunes Brewster faithfully adhered to him, and gave him all the assistance of which he was capable. When he could no longer serve him, he retired into the north of England,† among his old friends, and was very highly esteemed by those who were most exemplary for religion.‡ Being possessed of a handsome property, and hav-

* For a particular account of Davison, and a full vindication of his conduct, the reader is referred to the fifth volume of *Biographia Britannica*, published by the late learned and candid Dr. Kippis, where the character of Elizabeth is drawn in its proper colours, p. 4-13.

† [Secretary Davison was displaced in 1587, and Brewster's retirement to the north of England is supposed to have taken place the same year.—H.]

‡ Cotton's Appendix, in the Collections of the Historical Society, vol. iv., 114.

ing some influence, he made use of both in promoting the cause of religion, and procuring persons of good character to serve in the office of ministers to the parishes in his neighbourhood.

By degrees, he became disgusted with the impositions of the prelatical party, and their severity towards men of a moderate and peaceable disposition. This led him to inquire critically into the nature of ecclesiastical authority; and, having discovered much corruption in the constitution, forms, ceremonies, and discipline of the Established Church, he thought it his duty to withdraw from its communion, and join with others of the same sentiments in the institution of a separate church, of which the aged Mr. Clifton and the younger Mr. Robinson were appointed pastors. The newly-formed society met on the Lord's days at Mr. Brewster's house, where they were entertained at his expense with much affection and respect, as long as they could assemble without opposition from their adversaries.

But when the resentment of the hierarchy, heightened by the countenance and authority of James, the successor of Elizabeth, obliged them to seek refuge in a foreign country, Brewster was the most forward to assist them

in their removal. He was one of those who went on board a vessel in the night at Boston, in Lincolnshire (as already related in the *Life of Robinson*); and, being apprehended by the magistrates, he was the greatest sufferer, because he had the most property. When liberated from confinement, he first assisted the weak and poor of the society in their embarkation, and then followed them to Holland.

His family was large,* and his dependants numerous; his education and mode of living were not suited to a mechanical or mercantile life, and he could not practise agriculture in a commercial city. The hardships which he suffered in consequence of this removal were grievous and depressing; but, when his finances were exhausted, he had a resource in his learning and abilities. In Leyden he found employment as a tutor; the youth of the city

* [In 1620 he had six children, four of them with him in Plymouth, and two daughters remaining in Leyden. These two daughters came over in 1623, and the next year one of them, Patience, was married to Thomas Prince.—Prince, 224. The other, Fear, was afterward married to Isaac Allerton. Judge Davis, in his note to Morton's Memorial (p. 221), has inadvertently given Fear to Prince, and Patience to Allerton. Two of his sons were named Love and Wrestling. He appears to have had two children after his arrival in New-England.—H.]

and University came to him for instruction in the English tongue; and by means of the Latin, which was common to both, and a grammar of his own construction, they soon acquired a knowledge of the English language. By the help of some friends he also set up a printing-office, and was instrumental of publishing several books against the hierarchy which could not obtain a license in England.

His reputation was so high in the church of which he was a member, that they chose him a ruling elder, and confided in his wisdom, experience, and integrity, to assist in conducting their temporal as well as ecclesiastical concerns, particularly their removal to America. With the minority of the church he came over, and suffered all the hardships attending their settlement in this wilderness. He partook with them of labour, hunger, and watching; his Bible and his arms were equally familiar to him; and he was always ready for any duty or suffering to which he was called.

For some time after their arrival they were destitute of a teaching elder, expecting and hoping that Mr. Robinson, with the remainder of the church, would follow them to

America. Brewster frequently officiated as a preacher, but he never could be persuaded to administer the sacraments or take on him the pastoral office ; though it had been stipulated before their departure from Holland, that “ those who first went should be an absolute church of themselves, as well as those who stayed ;” * and it was one of their principles, that the brethren who elected had the power of ordaining to office.

The reason of his refusal was his extreme diffidence, being unwilling to assume any other office in the church than that with which he had been invested by the whole body. This plea might have some force during Robinson’s life, by whose advice he had been prevailed upon to accept the office of a ruling elder ; but after his death there was less reason for it, and his declining to officiate was really productive of very disagreeable effects.

A spirit of faction and division was excited in the church, partly by persons of different sentiments and character, who came over from England, and partly by uneasy and assuming brethren among themselves. Such was the notoriety and melancholy appearance of

* Prince, 66.

these divisions, that their friends in England seriously admonished them,* and recommended to them "to let their practice in the church be complete and full; to permit all who feared God to join themselves to them without delay; and to let all divine ordinances be used completely in the church, without longer waiting upon uncertainties, or keeping a gap open for opposites."†

With this salutary advice they did not comply, and one great obstacle to their compliance was the liberty of "prophesying," which was allowed not only to the elders, but to such private members as were "gifted." In Robinson's Apology,‡ this principle

* [This was so early as 1624. The rumours of these dissensions spreading into England, increased the alarm and discontent which existed among the adventurers. In April of that year they wrote to Governor Bradford, among other admonitions, "that you freely and readily entertain any honest men into your church, estate, and society, though with great infirmities and difference of judgment; taking heed of too great straitness and singularity even in that particular."—Bradford's Letter-book, Mass. Hist. Coll., iii., 28.—H.]

† Bradford's Letters in Collections of the Historical Society, vol. iii., 33.

‡ "We learn from the Apostle Paul (1 Cor., xiv., 3), that he who prophesieth speaketh to men to edification, and exhortation, and comfort; which, to perform *conveniently*, comes within the compass of but a *few* of the multitude, haply two or three in each of our churches. Touching prophecy, then, we think the

is explained in a very cautious manner ; the exercise of the gift was subject to the judgment of the minister, and, while they were under his superintendence, their prophesyings were conducted with tolerable regularity ; but when they came to practise on this principle where they had not that advantage, the consequence was prejudicial to the establishment of any regular ministry among them. “ The preachments of the gifted brethren

same that the Synod of Embden (1571) hath decreed in these words : ‘ Let the order of prophecy be observed according to Paul’s institution. Into the fellowship of this work are to be admitted, not only the ministers, but the teachers, elders, and deacons, yea, even of the multitude, who are *willing* to confer their gift, received of God, to the common utility of the church, but so as they be first *allowed* by the judgment of the ministers and others.’ ”—Robinson’s Apology, chap. viii.

Governor Winthrop and Mr. Wilson, minister of Boston, made a visit to Plymouth in October, 1632. and kept Sabbath there. The following account of the afternoon exercise is preserved in Winthrop’s Journal, p. 44.

“ In the afternoon, Mr. Roger Williams, according to their custom, propounded a question, to which the pastor, Mr. Smith, spake briefly ; then Mr. Williams *prophesied* ; and after, the Governor of Plymouth [Bradford] spake to the question ; after him the elder [Brewster], then two or three more of the congregation. Then the elder desired the Governor of Massachusetts and Mr. Wilson to speak to it, which they did. When this was ended, the deacon, Mr. Fuller, put the congregation in mind of their duty of contribution, upon which the governor and all the rest went down to the deacon’s seat, and put into the bag, and then returned.”

produced those discouragements to the ministers that almost all left the colony, apprehending themselves driven away by the neglect and contempt with which the people on this occasion treated them.”* This practice was not allowed in any other church of New-England except that of Plymouth.†

* Math., Mag., i., 14.

† [The practice of “prophesying” was not confined to Plymouth, as the text intimates. When the Rev. Mr. Wilson, of Boston, was on the eve of sailing for England in 1631, he met several of the congregation, and “commended to them the exercise of prophecy in his absence, and designed those whom he thought most fit for it.”—Winthrop’s Journal, i., 50. The Governor of Massachusetts himself sometimes exercised in this way in his own precinct. “The governor went on foot to Agawam, and, because the people there wanted a minister, spent the Sabbath with them, and exercised by way of prophecy.”—Ib., 130. The “prophesyings” which had prevailed to some extent in the Church of England, and were warmly supported by Archbishop Grindal, and afterward approved by Lord Bacon, and as earnestly opposed by the queen, were on a different plan, being an exercise in which laymen were not allowed to participate. Fuller gives “the model and method,” in his Church History, book ix., sect. iv., 2. At a meeting of ministers of the same precinct, the junior divine went into the pulpit, and treated for about half an hour on a text previously assigned; four or five more, observing seniority, followed on the same text. A grave divine made the closing sermon, more at length, praising the pious or mildly reproving the mistakes of those who had gone before him. Then all was ended with a solemn prayer. The exercise, he says, though long, was seldom tedious. See also Strype’s Life of Grindal, fol. 176, 180, 220, &c.—H.]

Besides the liberty of prophesying and public conference, there were several other peculiarities in their practice which they learned from the Brownists, and in which they differed from many of the reformed churches.* They admitted none to their communion without either a written or oral declaration of their faith and religious experiences, delivered before the whole Church, with liberty for every one to ask questions till they were satisfied. They practised ordination by the hands of the brethren.† They disused the Lord's Prayer and the public reading of the Scriptures. They did not allow the reading of the Psalm before singing, till, in compassion to a brother who could not read,‡ they permitted one of

* Baylie's Dissuasive from the Errors of the Times, p. 22.

† Cotton's Appendix, in Collections of the Historical Society, iv., 127, 136, &c.

‡ [Cotton, in his Appendix, speaking of the origin of this custom, says it was done in "compassion to a brother who, *it is supposed*, could not read." I think both Belknap and Cotton are mistaken in supposing the practice to have originated in Plymouth. It prevailed somewhat extensively, then and before, in the meetings of the Puritans in England, for want of suitable Hymn-books enough, or for the sake of the more ignorant brethren. I find what I believe to have been merely declaratory of the existing usage in the "Directory for Public Worship," prepared by the Assembly of Divines which met at Westminster June, 1643, and set forth by Act of Parliament November, 1644: "Every one who could read was to have a Psalm book, and all

the elders or deacons to read it line by line, after it had been previously expounded by the minister.* They admitted no children to baptism unless one, at least, of the parents were in full communion with the church; and they accounted all baptized children proper subjects of ecclesiastical discipline. While in Holland they had the Lord's Supper every Sabbath; but, when they came to America, they omitted it till they could obtain a minister, and then had it monthly. Most of these practices were continued for many years, and some are yet adhered to, though others have been gradually laid aside.†

were to be exhorted to learn reading, that the whole congregation might join in psalmody. But for the present, when many could not read, it was convenient that the minister or some other fit person should read the Psalm line by line before the singing thereof."—Southey's *Book of the Church*, Am. ed., ii., 441. Vaughan's *Memorials*, ii., 156.—H.]

* Ainsworth's translation of the Psalms was used in the Church of Plymouth till 1692, when the New-England version was introduced.—Cotton's *Appendix*, 126, 127.

† [Cotton, in his *Appendix* (*Mass. Hist. Coll.*, iv., 133, seqq.), adds some particulars besides those given in the text respecting the opinions and usages of the Plymouth Church. In doctrine they professed a strict adherence to the Confession of the Protestant churches of France drawn up by Calvin, and which was the same, for substance, with that of the Westminster Assembly. They were strenuous Protestants, maintaining the Bible to be the only infallible rule of faith and obedience. In the

The Church of Plymouth had no regular minister till four years after the death of Mr. Robinson, and nine years after their coming to America. In 1629 they settled Ralph Smith, who continued with them about five years, and then resigned. He is said to have been a man of "low gifts," and was assisted three years by Roger Williams, of "bright accomplishments, but offensive errors." In 1636 they had John Reyner, "an able and godly man, of a meek and humble spirit, sound in the truth, and unreprouable in his life and conversation." He continued with them till 1654,* when he removed to Dover,

point of ecclesiastical order they were strictly congregational, "holding the equality of pastors and churches, and the distinct right each church had of ordering its own affairs without control from any superior authority." They had, before they left England, utterly separated themselves from the Established Church, on account, among other reasons, of its alleged laxness of discipline. They naturally maintained the purity of their own with great watchfulness. Especially careful were they in watching over the children of church members, in case of scandal "requiring a public confession, when the offence was public." When the church voted on any matter, the elders never called for the negative voices, "judging it would be using the axe or hammer in temple work."—H.]

* The succession of ministers since that time has been as follows: After a vacancy of fifteen years,

In 1669 John Cotton was ordained, and in 1697 resigned, and removed to Carolina, where he died in 1699.

in New-Hampshire, where he spent the remainder of his life.

During his ministry at Plymouth, Elder Brewster, having enjoyed a healthy old age, died on the sixteenth of April, 1644, being then in the eighty-fourth year of his age. He was able to continue his ecclesiastical functions and his field-labour till within a few days of his death, and was confined to his bed but one day.*

He had been remarkably temperate through his whole life, having drank no liquor but water till within the last five or six years. For many months together he had, through necessity, lived without bread, having nothing but fish for his sustenance, and sometimes was destitute of that. Yet, being of a pliant

In 1699 Ephraim Little was ordained, and died at Plymouth in 1723, being the only minister of that church who died there.

In 1724 Nathaniel Leonard was ordained, and in 1757 removed to Norton.

In 1759 Chandler Robbins, D.D., was ordained, and died June 30, 1799, aged 61.—Cotton's Appendix.

[In 1800 James Kendall, D.D.—H.]

* ["His speech continued until somewhat more than half a day before his death, and then failed him, and about nine or ten of the clock that evening he died, without any pangs at all. A few hours before he drew his breath short, and some few minutes before his last he drew his breath long, as a man fallen into a sound sleep, and so sweetly departed this life into a better."—Morton's Memorial, p. 220.—H.]

and cheerful temper, he easily accommodated himself to his circumstances. When nothing but oysters or clams were set on his table, he would give thanks with his family that they could "suck of the abundance of the seas, and of the treasures hid in the sand."*

He was a man of eminent piety and devotion; not prolix, but full and comprehensive in his public prayers,† esteeming it his duty to strengthen and encourage the devotion of others, rather than to weary them with long performances. On days of fasting and humiliation he was more copious, but equally fervent.‡ As an instance of this, it is observed, that in 1623 a drought of six weeks having succeeded the planting season, in July a day was set apart for fasting and prayer. The morning was clear and hot, as usual, but, after *eight hours* employed in religious exercises, the weather changed, and before the next morning a gentle rain came on, which continued, with intermissions of fair and warm

* Deuteronomy, xxxiii., 19.

† [The Records of the Church of Plymouth (copied in Davis's edition of Morton, p. 222-224) say, "He had a singular good gift in prayer, both public and private, in bringing up the heart and conscience before God in the confession of sin, and begging the mercies of God in Christ for the pardon thereof."—H.]

‡ Morton, Prince, and Winslow.

weather, fourteen days, by which the languishing corn revived. The neighbouring Indians observed the change, and said that "the Englishman's God was a good God."

In his public discourses Mr. Brewster was very clear and distinguishing, as well as pathetic; addressing himself first to the understanding, and then to the affections of his audience, convincing and persuading them of the superior excellence of true religion. Such a kind of teaching was well adapted, and in many instances effectual, to the real instruction and benefit of his hearers. What a pity that such a man could not have been persuaded to take on him the pastoral office!

In his private conversation he was social, pleasant, and inoffensive; yet, when occasion required, he exercised that fortitude which true virtue inspires, but mixed with such tenderness that his reproofs gave no offence.*

His compassion towards the distressed was an eminent trait in his character, and, if they were suffering for conscience' sake, he judged

* [The same Records say "he was well-spoken; having a grave, deliberate utterance, inoffensive and innocent in his life and conversation, which gained him the love of those without as well as of those within. Yet he would tell them plainly of their faults and vices, both publicly and privately, but in such a manner as usually was well taken from him"—H.]

them, of all others, most deserving of pity and relief. Nothing was more disgusting to him than vanity and hypocrisy.

In the government of the Church he was careful to preserve order and purity, and to suppress contention. Had his diffidence permitted him to exercise the pastoral office, he would have had more influence, and kept intruders at a proper distance.

He was owner of a very considerable library, part of which was lost when the vessel in which he embarked was plundered at Boston, in Lincolnshire. After his death his remaining books were valued at forty-three pounds in silver, as appears by the Colony Records, where a catalogue of them is preserved.*

* [The number of volumes was two hundred and seventy-five, of which sixty-four were in the learned languages.—Davis's note to Morton, 221.—H.]

XXI. ROBERT CUSHMAN.*

“ROBERT CUSHMAN was a distinguished character among that collection of worthies who quitted England on account of their religious difficulties, and settled with Mr. John Robinson, their pastor, in the city of Leyden. Proposing afterward a removal to America, in the year 1617 Mr. Cushman and Mr. John Carver (afterward the first governor of New-Plymouth) were sent over to England as their agents, to agree with the Virginia Company for a settlement, and to obtain, if possible, a grant of liberty of conscience in their intended plantation from King James.

“From this negotiation, though conducted on their part with great discretion and ability, they returned unsuccessful to Leyden in May, 1618. They met with no difficulty indeed from the Virginia Company, who were willing to grant them sufficient territory, with as ample privileges as they could bestow; but the pragmatistical James, the pretended

* This account of Mr. Cushman was published in 1785, at Plymouth, as an Appendix to the third edition of his *Discourse on Self-Love*. It was written by *John Davis, Esq.*

vicegerent of the Deity, refused to grant them that liberty in religious matters which was their principal object. This persevering people determined to transport themselves to this country, relying upon James's promise that he would *connive* at, though not expressly *tolerate* them; and Mr. Cushman was again despatched to England in February, 1619, with Mr. William Bradford,* to agree with the Virginia Company on the terms of their removal and settlement.

“After much difficulty and delay, they obtained a patent in the September following; upon which, part of the Church at Leyden, with their elder, Mr. Brewster, determined to transport themselves as soon as possible. Mr. Cushman was one of the agents in England to procure money, shipping, and other necessities for the voyage, and embarked with them at Southampton, August 5th, 1620. But the ship in which he sailed proving leaky, and, after twice putting into port to repair, being condemned as unfit to perform the voyage, Mr. Cushman, with his family, and a number of others, were obliged, though reluctantly, to relinquish the voyage

* [William Brewster, not Bradford.—Young's Chronicles, 57, note, and 68.—H.]

for that time and return to London. Those in the other ship proceeded and made their settlement at Plymouth in December, 1620, where Mr. Cushman also arrived, in the ship *Fortune*, from London, on the 10th* of November, 1621, but took passage in the same ship back again, pursuant to the directions of the merchant adventurers in London (who fitted out the ship, and by whose assistance the first settlers were transported), to give them an account of the plantation. He sailed from Plymouth December 13th, 1621; and, arriving on the coast of England, the ship, with a cargo valued at £500 sterling,† was taken by the French. Mr. Cushman, with the crew, was carried into France,‡ but arrived in London in the February following. During his short residence at Plymouth, though a mere lay character, he delivered a Discourse on the Sin and Danger of Self-Love, which was printed in London (1622), and afterward reprinted in Boston (1724), and again

* [See Prince's Chronology, 198.—H.]

† ["Laden," says Prince (Chronology, 199), "with two hog-heads of beaver and other skins, and good clapboards as full as she can hold; the freight estimated near five hundred pounds." —H.]

‡ [Where the ship was "robbed of all she had worth taking." —Ib., l. c.—H.]

at Plymouth (1785). And though his name is not prefixed to either of the two former editions, yet unquestionable tradition renders it certain that he was the author, and even transmits to us a knowledge of the spot where it was delivered.* Mr. Cushman, though he constantly corresponded with his friends here,† and was very serviceable to their interest in London, never returned to the country again, but, while preparing for it, was removed to a better, in the year 1626.‡ The news of his death and Mr. Robinson's arrived at the same time at Plymouth, by Captain Standish, and seem to have been

* ["It was at the common house of the plantation, which is understood to have been erected on the southerly side of the bank, where the town brook meets the harbour."—Morton, 74, note.—H.]

† [Several of his letters are preserved in Bradford's Letter-book.—Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iii.—H.]

‡ [I cannot doubt that Cushman died in 1625. His last letter to Governor Bradford was written Dec. 22d, 1624, in which he commended his young son, then at Plymouth, to him, and expressed his intention of coming to Plymouth in the next ship. Bradford's reply is dated June 9th, 1625, and was carried probably by Standish, who was sent to England that summer. Governor Bradford minuted at the bottom of his copy, "Mr. Cushman died before this letter arrived;" probably not later than August.—Mass. Hist. Coll., iii., 29, 35. Standish brought the news of his decease in April, 1626. In the year 1625 more than 40,000 persons died in London of the plague.—Prince, 236, 237, 238.—H.]

equally lamented by their bereaved and suffering friends there.* He was zealously engaged in the prosperity of the plantation, a man of activity and enterprise, well versed in business, respectable in point of intellectual abilities, well accomplished in scriptural knowledge, an unaffected professor, and a steady, sincere practiser of religion. The design of the above-mentioned discourse was to keep up that flow of public spirit which, perhaps, began then to abate, but which was thought necessary for their preservation and security. The policy of that entire community of interests which our fathers established, and which this sermon was designed to preserve, is, nevertheless, justly questionable. The love of separate property, for good and wise purposes, is strongly implanted in the heart of man. So far from being unfavourable to a reasonable generosity and public spirit, it better enables us to display them, and is not less consistent with the precepts of Scripture, rightly understood, than with the dictates of reason. This is evidenced by the

* [Bradford, in writing of his death, says, "who was our right hand with the adventurers, and for divers years has managed all our business with them, to our great advantage." His correspondence with the colonists shows zeal, good sense, and much knowledge of affairs.—H.]

subsequent conduct of this very people. In the year 1623, departing a little from their first system, they agreed that every family should plant for themselves, bringing in a competent portion at harvest for the maintenance of public officers, fishermen, &c., and in all other things to go on in the *general way* (as they term it) as before; for this purpose they assigned to every family a parcel of land, for a year only, in proportion to their number. Even this temporary division, as Governor Bradford, in his manuscript history, observes, ‘has a good effect; makes all industrious; gives content; even the women and children now go into the field to work, and much more corn is planted than ever.’ In the spring of the year 1624, the people being still uneasy, one acre of land was given to each in fee simple; *no more to be given till the expiration of the seven years*. In the year 1627, when they purchased the interest of the adventurers in England in the plantation, there was a division and allotment of almost all their property, real and personal; twenty acres of tillage land to each, besides what they held before; the meadows and the trade only remaining in common.

“ Thus it is observable how men, in spite

of their principles, are naturally led into that mode of conduct which truth and utility, ever coincident, point out. Our fathers deserve the highest commendation for prosecuting, at the hazard of life and fortune, that reformation in religion which the Church of England left imperfect. Taking, for this purpose, the sacred Scriptures as their only guide, they travelled in the path of truth, and appealed to a most noble and unerring standard; but when, from their reverence to this divine authority in matters of religion, they were inclined to esteem it the only guide in all the affairs of life, and attempted to regulate their civil polity upon church ideas, they erred, and involved themselves in innumerable difficulties.*

* [The learned author saw reason afterward to alter the judgment expressed here of the reason of the peculiar policy of the Pilgrims touching a community of goods and interests. In the Appendix (I.) to his valuable edition of Morton's Memorial, he says, "The conditions required by the adventurers in England, and to which the settlers at Plymouth found it necessary to consent, sufficiently repel the suggestion made by Dr. Robertson, and by some other writers, that these people, misguided by their religious theories, and in imitation of the primitive Christians, voluntarily threw all their property into a common stock. The editor is here bound to acknowledge that he had once embraced the same opinion, and precipitately indulged in remarks founded on such a conviction, which, though they may be abstractly true, farther inquiry convinced him were in that instance misap-

“The end of civil society is the security of the temporal liberty and prosperity of man, not all the happiness and perfection which he is capable of attaining, for which other means are appointed. Had not our fathers placed themselves upon such a footing, with respect to property, as was repugnant to the nature of man, and not warranted by the true end of civil society, there would probably have been no just ground of complaint of a want of a real and reasonable public spirit, and the necessity of the exhortation and reproof contained in Mr. Cushman’s discourse would have been superseded. Their zeal, their enterprise, and their uncommon sufferings in the prosecution of their arduous undertaking render it morally certain that they would have ever cheerfully performed their duty in this respect: Their contemporaries might censure them for what they *did not*, but their posterity must ever admire and revere them for what they *did* exhibit.”

After the death of Mr. Cushman, his family applied.” The conditions referred to may be found in the Life of Carver, in vol. ii.—H.]

* [His son Thomas was already in New-England. When the rest of his family came over I have not been able to ascertain. In the list of those to whom cattle were distributed in 1627, I find no one of the name except Thomas.—H.]

ily came over to New-England.* His son, Thomas Cushman, succeeded Mr. Brewster as ruling elder of the Church of Plymouth, being ordained to that office in 1649. He was a man of good gifts, and frequently assisted in carrying on the public worship, preaching, and catechising. For it was one professed principle of that church, in its first formation, "to choose none for governing elders but such as were able to teach." He continued in this office till he died, in 1691, in the eighty-fourth year of his age.

The above-mentioned discourse of Mr. Robert Cushman in 1621 may be considered as a specimen of the "prophesyings" of the brethren. The occasion was singular; the exhortations and reproofs are not less so, but were adapted to the then state of society. Some specimens may not be disagreeable, and are therefore here inserted.*

"Now, brethren, I pray you rememoer yourselves, and know that you are not in a retired monastical course, but have given your names and promises one to another, and covenanted here to cleave together in

* [Cushman was also the author of a tract printed as a part of Mourt's Relation (iii., Mass. Hist. Coll., ix., 64-73), and headed "Reasons and Considerations touching the Lawfulness f removing out of England into the parts of America."—H.]

the service of God and the king. What, then, must you do? May you live as retired hermits, and look after nobody? Nay, you must seek still the wealth of one another, and inquire, as *David*, how liveth such a man? how is he clad? how is he fed? He is my brother, my associate; we ventured our lives together here, and had a hard brunt of it; and we are in league together. Is his labour harder than mine? surely I will ease him. Hath he no bed to lie on? I have two; I'll lend him one. Hath he no apparel? I have two suits; I'll give him one of them. Eats he coarse fare, bread and water? and have I better? surely we will part stakes. He is as good a man as I, and we are bound each to other; so that his wants must be my wants, his sorrows my sorrows, his sickness my sickness, and his welfare my welfare; for I am as he is. Such a sweet sympathy were excellent, comfortable, yea, heavenly, and is the only maker and conserver of churches and commonwealths.

“It wonderfully encourageth men in their duties when they see the burden equally borne; but when some withdraw themselves, and retire to their own particular ease, pleasure, or profit, what heart can men have to go

on in their business ? When men are come together to lift some weighty piece of timber or vessel, if one stand still and do not lift, shall not the rest be weakened and disheartened ? Will not a few idle drones spoil the whole stock of laborious bees ? So one idle belly, one murmurer, one complainer, one self-lover, will weaken and dishearten a whole colony. Great matters have been brought to pass, where men have cheerfully, as with one heart, hand, and shoulder, gone about it, both in wars, buildings, and plantations ; but where every man seeks himself, all cometh to nothing.

“ The country is yet raw ; the land untill-
ed ; the cities not builded ; the cattle not
settled. We are compassed about with a
helpless and idle people, the natives of the
country, which cannot, in any comely or com-
fortable manner, help themselves, much less
us. We also have been very chargeable to
many of our loving friends which helped us
hither, and now again supplied us : so that,
before we think of gathering riches, we must
even in conscience think of requiting their
charge, love, and labour ; and cursed be that
profit and gain which aimeth not at this. Be-
sides, how many of our dear friends did here

die at our first entrance ! many of them, no doubt, for want of good lodging, shelter, and comfortable things ; and many more may go after them quickly, if care be not taken. Is this, then, a time for men to begin to seek themselves ? *Paul* saith that men in the *last days* shall be lovers of themselves (2 Tim., iii., 2) ; but it is here yet but the *first days*, and, as it were, the dawning of this New World. It is now, therefore, no time for men to look to get riches, brave clothes, dainty fare, but to look to present necessities. It is now no time to pamper the flesh, live at ease, snatch, catch, scrape, and hoard up ; but rather to open the doors, the chests, and vessels, and say, Brother, neighbour, friend, what want ye ? anything that I have ? make bold with it ; it is yours to command, to do you good, to comfort and cherish you ; and glad I am that I have it for you.

“ Let there be no prodigal son to come forth and say, Give me the portion of lands and goods that appertaineth to me, and let me shift for myself. It is yet too soon to put men to their shifts ; *Israel* was seven years in Canaan before the land was divided unto tribes, much longer before it was divided unto families ; and why wouldst thou have thy

particular portion, but because thou thinkest to live better than thy neighbour, and scornest to live so meanly as he? but who, I pray thee, brought this particularizing first into the world? Did not Satan, who was not content to keep that equal state with his fellows, but would set his throne above the stars? Did not he also entice man to despise his *general* felicity and happiness, and go try *particular* knowledge of good and evil? Nothing in this world doth more resemble heavenly happiness than for men to live as one, being of one heart and one soul; neither anything more resembles hellish horror than for every man to shift for himself; for if it be a good mind and practice thus to affect particulars, *mine* and *thine*, then it should be best also for God to provide one heaven for thee, and another for thy neighbour.

“*Objection.* But some will say, ‘*If all men will do their endeavours, as I do, I could be content with this generality; but many are idle and slothful, and eat up others’ labours, and therefore it is best to part, and then every man may do his pleasure.*’

“If others be idle and thou diligent, thy fellowship, provocation, and example may well help to cure that malady in them, being

together ; but, being asunder, shall they not be more idle, and shall not gentry and beggary be quickly the glorious ensigns of your commonwealth ?

“ Be not too hasty to say men are idle and slothful. All men have not strength, skill, faculty, spirit, and courage to work alike. It is thy glory and credit that thou canst do so well, and his shame and reproach that he can do no better ; and are not these sufficient rewards to you both ?

“ If any be idle apparently, you have a law and governors to execute the same, and to follow that rule of the apostle, to keep back their bread, and let them not eat ; go not, therefore, whispering, to charge men with idleness ; but go to the governor and prove them idle, and thou shalt see them have their deserts.

“ There is no grief so tedious as a churlish companion. Bear ye one another's burdens, and be not a burden one to another.” Avoid all factions, frowardness, singularity, and withdrawals, and cleave fast to the Lord, and one to another, continually ; so shall you be a notable precedent to these poor heathens, whose eyes are upon you, and who very brutishly and cruelly do daily eat and consume

one another, through their emulations, ways, and contentions ; be you, therefore, ashamed of it, and win them to peace, both with yourselves and one another, by your peaceable examples, which will preach louder to them than if you could cry in their barbarous language ; so also shall you be an encouragement to many of your Christian friends in your native country to come to you, when they hear of your peace, love, and kindness. But, above all, it shall go well with your souls when that God of peace and unity shall come to visit you with death, as he hath done many of your associates, you being found of him, not in murmurings, discontent, and jars, but in brotherly love and peace, may be translated from this wandering wilderness unto that joyful and heavenly Canaan. AMEN."

XXII. EDWARD WINSLOW.

THIS eminently useful person was the eldest son of a gentleman of the same name, of Droitwich, in Worcestershire, where he was born in 1594.* Of his education and first appearance in life we have no knowledge. In the course of his travels on the Continent of Europe he became acquainted with Mr. Robinson and the church under his pastoral care at Leyden, where he settled and married. To this church he joined himself, and with them he continued till their removal to America. He came hither with the first company, and his name is the third in the list of those who subscribed the Covenant of Incorporation before their disembarkation at Cape Cod. His family then consisted of his wife and three other persons. He was one of those who coasted the Bay of Cape Cod and discovered the Harbour of Plymouth; and when the sachem Massasoit came to visit the strangers, he offered himself as a hostage while a conference was held and a treaty was made with the savage prince.

* [More exactly, he was born October 19, 1595.—Young's *Chronicles of the Pilgrims*, 274, note.—H.]

His wife died soon after his arrival, and in the following spring he married Susanna, the widow of William White, and mother of Peregrine, the first English child born in New-England. This was the first marriage solemnized in the colony* (May 12, 1621).

In Junet he went, in company with Stephen Hopkins, to visit the sachem Massasoit at Pokanoket.‡ The design of this visit is related in Bradford's life.§ The particular circumstances of it may properly be detailed here, in the very words of Winslow's original narrative.||

"We set forward the 10th of June,¶ about nine in the morning, our guide [Tisquantum] resolving that night to rest at Namasket,** a town under Massasoit, and conceived by us to be very near, because the inhabitants flocked so thick on every slight occasion

* Prince, 105.

† [Morton says, "The *second* of July this year (1621) they sent Mr. Edward Winslow and Mr. Stephen Hopkins unto the great sachem Massoit," &c.—Memorial, p. 69.—H.]

‡ Purchas, iv., 1851.

§ [See page 11 of this volume.—H.]

|| [This extract is taken from "Mourt's Journal of a Plantation settled at Plymouth," which was printed in 1622; probably written by Winslow.—Mass. Hist. Coll., viii., 232.—H.]

¶ Mr. Prince thinks this is a mistake, and that it ought to have been the 3d of July.

** [I. e., Middleborough.—H.]

among us ; but we found it to be fifteen English miles. On the way we found ten or twelve men, women, and children, which had pestered us till we were weary of them ; perceiving that (as the manner of them all is) where victual is easiest to be got, there they live, especially in the summer ; by reason whereof, our bay affording many lobsters, they resort every spring-tide thither, and now returned with us to Namasket. Thither we came about three in the afternoon, the inhabitants entertaining us with joy, in the best manner they could, giving us a kind of bread, called by them Mazium, and the spawn of shads, which then they got in abundance, insomuch as they gave us spoons to eat them ; with these they boiled musty acorns, but of the shads we eat heartily. They desired one of our men to shoot at a crow, complaining what damage they sustained in their corn by them ; who shooting and killing, they much admired it, as other shots on other occasions.

“ After this, Tisquantum told us we should hardly in one day reach Pakánokick,* moving us to go eight miles farther, where we should

* The same with Pokánoket. Indian words are spelled differently by different writers. I here follow the author from whom I copy.

find more store and better victuals. Being willing to hasten our journey, we went, and came thither at sunsetting, where we found many of the men of Namasket fishing at a ware which they had made on a river† which belonged to them, where they caught abundance of bass. These welcomed us also, gave us of their fish, and we them of our victuals, not doubting but we should have enough wherever we came. There we lodged in the open fields, for houses they had none, though they spent the most of the summer there. The head of this river is reported to be not far from the place of our abode; upon it are and have been many towns, it being a good length. The ground is very good on both sides, it being for the most part cleared. Thousands of men have lived there, which died in a great plague not long since; and pity it was and is to see so many goodly fields and so well seated without men to dress the same.

“The next morning we brake our fast, and took our leave and departed, being then accompanied with six savages. Having gone about six miles by the river’s side, at a known shoal place, it being low water, they spake

* [Taunton River.—H.]

to us to put off our breeches, for we must wade through. Here let me not forget the valour and courage of some of the savages on the opposite side of the river; for there were remaining alive only two men, both aged. These two, spying a company of men entering the river, ran very swiftly, and low in the grass, to meet us at the bank, where, with shrill voices and great courage, standing, charged upon us with their bows, they demanded what we were, supposing us to be enemies, and thinking to take advantage of us in the water; but, seeing we were friends, they welcomed us with such food as they had, and we bestowed a small bracelet of beads on them. Thus far we are sure the tide ebbs and flows.

“Having here again refreshed ourselves, we proceeded on our journey, the weather being very hot, yet the country so well watered that a man could scarce be dry but he should have a spring at hand to cool his thirst, besides small rivers in abundance. The savages will not willingly drink but at a spring-head. When we came to any small brook where no bridge was, two of them desired to carry us through of their own accord; also, fearing we were or would be

weary, they offered to carry our pieces [guns]; also, if we would lay off any of our clothes, we should have them carried; and as the one of them had found more special kindness from one of the messengers, and the other savage from the other, so they showed their thankfulness accordingly in affording us all help and furtherance in the journey.

“As we passed along, we observed that there were few places by the river but had been inhabited, by reason whereof much ground was clear, save of weeds which grew higher than our heads. There is much good timber, oak, walnut, fir, beech, and exceeding great chestnut-trees.

“Afterward we came to a town of Massasoit's, where we eat oysters and other fish. From thence we went to Pakánokick, but Massasoit was not at home. There we stayed, he being sent for. When news was brought of his coming, our guide, Tisquantum, requested that at our meeting we would discharge our pieces. One of us going to charge his piece, the women and children, through fear, ran away, and could not be pacified till he laid it down again, who afterward were better informed by our interpreter.

“Massasoit being come, we discharged our

pieces and saluted him, who, after their manner, kindly welcomed us, and took us into his house, and set us down by him, where, having delivered our message and presents, and having put the coat on his back and the chain about his neck, he was not a little proud to behold himself, and his men also to see their king, so bravely attired.

“For answer to our message, he told us we were welcome, and he would gladly continue that peace and friendship which was between him and us; and for his men, they should no more pester us as they had done; also, that he would send to Paomet, and help us to seed-corn, according to our request.

“This being done, his men gathered near to him, to whom he turned himself and made a great speech; the meaning whereof (as far as we could learn) was, that he was commander of the country, and that the people should bring their skins to us. He named at least thirty places; and their answer was confirming and applauding what he said.

“He then lighted tobacco for us, and fell to discoursing of England and of the king, marvelling that he could live without a wife. Also he talked of the Frenchmen, bidding us not to suffer them to come to Narrowhi-

ganset, for it was King James's country, and he was King James's man. It grew late, but he offered us no victuals; for, indeed, he had not any, being so newly come home. So we desired to go to rest. He laid us on the bed with himself and his wife; they at the one end, and we at the other; it being only planks, laid a foot from the ground, and a thin mat upon them. Two more of his chief men, for want of room, pressed by and upon us, so that we were worse wearied of our lodging than of our journey.

“The next day being Thursday, many of their sachems or petty governors came to see us, and many of their men also. They went to their manner of games for skins and knives. We challenged them to shoot for skins, but they durst not, only they desired to see one of us shoot at a mark; who, shooting with hail-shot, they wondered to see the mark so full of holes.

“About one o'clock Massasoit brought two fishes that he had shot; they were like bream, but three times so big, and better meat. [Probably the fish called Tataug.] These being boiled, there were at least forty that looked for a share in them; the most eat of them. This meal only we had in two

nights and a day ; and had not one of us brought a partridge, we had taken our journey fasting. Very importunate he was with us to stay with him longer ; but we desired to keep the Sabbath at home, and feared we should be light-headed for want of sleep ; for what with bad lodging, barbarous singing (for they use to sing themselves to sleep), lice, and fleas within doors, and moschëtoes without, we could hardly sleep all the time of our being there, and we much feared that, if we should stay any longer, we should not be able to recover home for want of strength.

“On Friday morning, before sunrising, we took our leave and departed, Massasoit being both grieved and ashamed that he could not better entertain us. Retaining Tisquantum to send from place to place to procure truck for us, he appointed another [guide], Tokamahamon, in his place, whom we found faithful before and after upon all occasions.”

This narrative gives us a just idea of the hospitality and poverty of the Indians. They gladly entertain strangers with the best they can afford ; but it is familiar to them to endure long abstinence. Those who visit them must be content to fare as they do, or

carry their own provision and share it with them.

Mr. Winslow's next excursion was by sea to Monahigon, an island near the mouth of Penobscot Bay, to procure a supply of bread from the fishing-vessels, who resorted to the eastern coast in the spring of 1622. This supply, though not large, was freely given to the suffering colony, and, being prudently managed in the distribution, amounted to one quarter of a pound for each person till the next harvest.* By means of this excursion the people of Plymouth became acquainted with the eastern coast, of which knowledge they afterward availed themselves for a beneficial traffic with the natives.†

In the spring of the year 1623,‡ Mr. Winslow made a second visit to the sachem, on account of his sickness,§ the particular circumstances of which are thus given in his own words:

* [The straits to which the settlers were reduced may be judged of from Winslow's Relation: "I found," he says, on his return, "the state of the colony much weaker than when I left it; for till now we were never without some bread: the want whereof much abated the strength and flesh of some, and swelled others."—Mass. Hist. Coll., viii., 246.—H.]

† Prince, 119. Purchas, iv., 1836.

‡ [This second expedition was in March.—H.]

§ Purchas, iv., 1860.

“News came to Plymouth that Mass’asso-wat* was like to die, and that, at the same time, there was a Dutch ship driven so high on the shore before his dwelling, by stress of weather, that, till the tides increased, she could not be got off. Now it being a commendable manner of the Indians when any, especially of note, are dangerously sick, for all that profess friendship to them to visit them in their extremity, therefore it was thought meet that, as we had ever professed friendship, so we should now maintain the same by observing this their laudable custom; and the rather, because we desired to have some conference with the Dutch, not knowing when we should have so fit an opportunity.

“To that end, myself having formerly been there, and understanding in some measure the Dutch tongue, the governor [Bradford] again laid this service on myself,† and fitted me with some cordials to administer to him; having one Mr. John Hampden, a gentleman of London, who then wintered with us, and desired much to see the country, for my consort, and Hobbamock for our guide. So we set forward, and lodged the first night

* Thus it is spelled in Winslow’s narrative.

† [See note to page 23 of this volume.—H.]

at Namasket, where we had friendly entertainment.

“ The next day, about one of the clock, we came to a ferry in Conbatant’s* country, where, upon discharge of my piece, divers Indians came to us from a house not far off. They told us that Massassowat was dead and that day buried, and that the Dutch would be gone before we could get thither, having hove off their ship already. This news struck us blank, but especially Hobamock, who desired me to return with all speed. I told him I would first think of it, considering now, that he being dead, Conbatant or Corbitant was the most likely to succeed him, and that we were not above three miles from Matapuyst,† his dwelling-place. Although he were but a hollow-hearted friend to us, I thought no time so fit as this to enter into more friendly terms with him and the rest of the sachems thereabout, hoping, through the blessing of God, it would be a means in that unsettled state, to settle their affections towards us ; and though it were somewhat dan-

* His name is spelled Corbitant, Conbatant, and Conbutant. This ferry is probably the same which is now called Slade’s Ferry, in Swanzey.

† A neck of land in the township of Swanzey, commonly pronounced Mattapoiset.

gerous, in respect of personal safety, yet esteeming it the best means, leaving the event to God in his mercy, I resolved to put it in practice, if Mr. Hampden and Hobbamock durst attempt it with me, whom I found willing. So we went towards Mattapuyst.

“In the way, Hobbamock, manifesting a troubled spirit, brake forth into these speeches. *Neen womasu Sagamus, &c.*: ‘My loving sachem! many have I known, but never any like thee!’ Then turning to me, he said, while I lived, I should never see his like among the Indians. He was no liar, he was not bloody and cruel like other Indians; in anger and passion he was soon reclaimed; easy to be reconciled towards such as had offended him; ruled by reason, in such measure as he would not scorn the advice of mean men; and that he governed his men better with few strokes than others did with many; truly loving where he loved; yea, he feared we had not a faithful friend left among the Indians, showing how often he restrained their malice. He continued a long speech, with such signs of lamentation and unfeigned sorrow as would have made the hardest heart relent.

“At length we came to Mattapuyst, and

went to the sachem's place ; Conbatant was not at home, but at Pokanokick, five or six miles off. The squaw sachem gave us friendly entertainment. Here we inquired again concerning Massassowat ; they thought him dead, but knew no certainty. Whereupon I hired one to go with all expedition to Pokanokick, that we might know the certainty thereof, and; withal, to acquaint Conbutant with our being there. About half an hour before sunsetting the messenger returned, and told us he was not yet dead, though there was no hope that we should find him living. Upon this we were much revived, and set forward with all speed, though it was late within night when we got thither. About two of the clock that afternoon the Dutchman had departed, so that in that respect our journey was frustrate.

“ When we came thither, we found the house so full of men as we could scarce get in, though they used their best diligence to make way for us. They were in the midst of their charms for him, making such a hellish noise as distempered us that were well, and therefore unlike to ease him that was sick. About him were six or eight women, who chafed his arms and legs to keep heat

in him. When they had made an end of their charming, one told him that his friends the English were come to see him. Having his understanding left, though his sight wholly gone, he asked who was come; they told him *Winsnow* (for they cannot pronounce the letter L, but ordinarily N in place of it); he desired to speak with me. When I came to him and they told him of it, he put forth his hand to me, which I took; then he said twice, though very inwardly, '*keen Winsnow?*' 'art thou Winslow?' I answered '*ahhe,*' that is, 'yes.' Then he doubled these words, '*Matta neen wonckunet namen Winsnow!*' that is to say, 'O Winslow, I shall never see thee again!' Then I called Hobbamock, and desired him to tell Massasoit that the governor, hearing of his sickness, was sorry for the same; and though, by reason of many businesses, he could not himself come, yet he had sent me, with such things for him as he thought most likely to do him good in this extremity; and whereof, if he pleased to take, I would presently give him, which he desired; and, having a confection of many comfortable conserves on the point of my knife, I gave him some, which I could scarce get through his teeth;

when it was dissolved in his mouth, he swallowed the juice of it, whereat those that were about him were much rejoiced, saying he had not swallowed anything in two days before. Then I desired to see his mouth, which was exceedingly furred, and his tongue swelled in such a manner that it was not possible for him to eat such meat as they had. Then I washed his mouth, and scraped his tongue, after which I gave him more of the confection, which he swallowed with more readiness. Then he desired to drink ; I dissolved some of it in water, and gave him thereof, and within half an hour this wrought a great alteration in him, and presently after his sight began to come to him. Then I gave him more, and told him of a mishap we had by the way, in breaking a bottle of drink which the governor also sent him, saying, if he would send any of his men to Plymouth, I would send for more of the same ; also for chickens to make him broth, and for other things which I knew were good for him, and would stay the return of the messenger. This he took marvellous kindly, and appointed some who were ready to go by two of the clock in the morning, against which time I made ready a letter, declaring our good success, and

desiring such things as were proper. He requested me that I would the next day take my piece and kill him some fowl, and make him such pottage as he had eaten at Plymouth, which I promised; but his stomach coming to him, I must needs make him some without fowl before I went abroad. I caused a woman to bruise some corn and take the flower from it, and set the broken corn in a pipkin (for they have earthen pots of all sizes). When the day broke, we went out to seek herbs (it being the middle of March), but could not find any but strawberry leaves, of which I gathered a handful and put into the same, and, because I had nothing to relish it, I went forth again and pulled up a sassafras root, and sliced a piece and boiled it, till it had a good relish. Of this broth I gave him a pint, which he drank and liked it well; after this his sight mended, and he took some rest. That morning he caused me to spend in going among the sick in the town, requesting me to wash their mouths, and give them some of the same I gave him. This pains I took willingly, though it were much offensive to me.

“When the messengers were returned, finding his stomach come to him, he would

not have the chickens killed, but kept them for breed. Neither durst we give him any physic, because he was so much altered, not doubting of his recovery if he were careful. Upon his recovery he brake forth into these speeches: 'Now I see the English are my friends, and love me; while I live, I will never forget this kindness they have showed me.' At our coming away, he called Hobba-mock to him, and privately told him of a plot of the Massachusetts against Weston's colony, and so against us. But he would neither join therein nor give way to any of his. With this he charged him to acquaint me by the way, that I might inform the governor. Being fitted for our return, we took leave of him, who returned many thanks to our governor, and also to ourselves, for our labour and love; the like did all that were about him. So we departed."

In the autumn of the same year Mr. Winslow went to England,* as agent for the colony, to give an account of their proceedings to the adventurers, and procure such things as were necessary. While he was in England he published a narrative of the settlement and transactions of the colony at Plymouth, under

* [In the ship *Ann*, which sailed September 10th.—H.]

this title, "Good News from New-England; or, a Relation of Things remarkable in that Plantation, by E. Winslow."*

This narrative is abridged in Purchas's Pilgrims, and has been of great service to all succeeding historians. To it he subjoined an account of the manners and customs, the religious opinions and ceremonies of the Indian natives, which, being an original work, and now rarely to be found, is inserted in the Appendix.

In the following spring (March, 1624) Mr. Winslow returned from England, having been absent no longer than six months, bringing a good supply of clothing and other necessaries, and, what was of more value than any other supply, *three heifers and one bull*, the first neat cattle brought into New-England.†

The same year‡ he went again to England, where he had an opportunity of correcting a mistake which had been made in his former voyage.§ The adventurers had then, in the

* [This work, an abridgment of which was published by Purchas, begins in January, 1622, and continues till Winslow's first voyage to England, September, 1623. It may be found in Mass. Hist. Coll., viii., 239-276. Dr. Belknap has farther abridged it by some unimportant omissions. It is printed entire in Young's Chronicles, 271-375.—H.]

† Prince, 146. ‡ [Probably in July.—H.] § Prince, 153.

same ship with the cattle, sent over John Lyford as a minister, who was soon suspected of being a person unfit for that office. When Mr. Winslow went again to England, he imparted this suspicion; and at a meeting of the adventurers, it appeared on examination that Lyford had been a minister in Ireland, where his conduct had been so bad as to oblige him to quit that kingdom, and that the adventurers had been imposed upon by false testimony concerning him. With this discovery Mr. Winslow came back to Plymouth in 1625, and found the court sitting on the affair of Oldham, who had returned after banishment. The true characters of these impostors being thus discovered, they were both expelled from the plantation.

About the same time, Governor Bradford having prevailed on the people of Plymouth to choose five assistants instead of one, Mr. Winslow was first elected to this office, in which he was continued till 1633, when, by the same influence, he was chosen governor* for one year.

* The following note from Governor Winthrop's Journal is worthy of observation: * "Mr. Edward Winslow was chosen governor of Plymouth. Mr. Bradford having been governor about ten [twelve] years, and now *by importunity got off.*"

* Winthrop's Journal, 47.

Mr. Winslow was a man of great activity and resolution, and therefore well qualified to conduct enterprises for the benefit of the colony. He frequently went to Penobscot, Kennebec, and Connecticut Rivers on trading voyages, and rendered himself useful and agreeable to the people.

In 1635 he undertook another agency in England for the colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts, partly on occasion of the intrusions which were made on the territory of New-England by the French on the east, and by the Dutch on the west, and partly to answer complaints which had been made to the government against the Massachusetts colony by Thomas Morton,* who had been twice expelled for his misbehaviour.

At that time the care of the colonies was committed to a number of bishops, lords, and gentlemen, of whom Archbishop Laud was at the head.† It was also in contemplation to

This singular trait in Bradford's character, of which there is the fullest evidence, sufficiently invalidates an insinuation of Hutchinson, that Winslow's "employment abroad prevented a *competition* between Bradford and him for the governor's place."*

* [For a more particular account of Morton, see the Life of Standish, and notes.—H.]

† Cotton's Appendix. Collections of the Historical Society, vol. iv., 119.

establish a general government in America, which would have superseded the charters of the colonies.

Winslow's situation at that time was critical, and his treatment was severe. In his petition to the commissioners he set forth the encroachments of the French and Dutch, and prayed for "a special warrant to the English colonies to defend themselves against all foreign enemies."* Governor Winthrop censured this petition as "ill-advised, because such precedents might endanger their liberties, that they should do nothing but by commission out of England."†

The petition, however, was favourably received by some of the board.‡ Winslow was heard several times in support of it, and pointed out a way in which the object might have been attained without any charge to the crown, by furnishing some of the chief men of the colonies with authority, which they would exercise at their own expense, and without any public national disturbance. This proposal crossed the design of Gorges and Mason, whose aim was to establish a general government; and the archbishop, who was engaged in their interest, put a check to

* Hutch., ii., 458.

† Journal, 89.

‡ Morton, 94

Winslow's proposal by questioning him on Morton's accusation for his own personal conduct in America. The offences alleged against him were that he, not being in holy orders, but a mere layman, had taught publicly in the church, and had officiated in the celebration of marriages. To the former Winslow answered, "that sometimes, when the church was destitute of a minister, he had exercised his gift for the edification of the brethren." To the latter, "that, though he had officiated as a magistrate in the solemnizing of marriage, yet he regarded it only as a civil contract; that the people of Plymouth had for a long time been destitute of a minister, and were compelled by necessity to have recourse to the magistrate in that solemnity; that this was not to them a novelty, having been accustomed to it in Holland, where he himself had been married by a Dutch magistrate in the Statehouse." On this honest confession, the archbishop pronounced him guilty of the crime of separation from the National Church, and prevailed on the board to consent to his imprisonment. He was therefore committed to the Fleet Prison, where he lay confined seventeen weeks. But after that time, on petitioning the board, he obtained a release.

At his return to New-England, the colony showed him the highest degree of respect by choosing him their governor for the succeeding year (1636). In this office he conducted himself greatly to their satisfaction. In 1644 he was again honoured with the same appointment, and in the intermediate years was the first on the list of magistrates.

When the colonies of New-England entered into a confederation for their mutual defence in 1643,* Mr. Winslow was chosen one of the commissioners on behalf of Plymouth, and was continued in that office till 1646,

* [The four colonies, Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New-Haven, presented an extensive and almost defenceless frontier to the incursions of the Indians, whose friendship was always doubtful, and whose enmity was certainly fatal. Connecticut and New-Haven were also annoyed by the vexatious claims of the Dutch, and suffered much hinderance in their trade by their interference. This state of things suggested the expediency of a confederacy of the colonies for mutual succour and defence, which, after five years of deliberation, was established in May, 1643. The affairs of the United Colonies were committed to two commissioners from each colony, who met once a year till 1664, and once in three years afterward till 1686, when the charters of all the colonies were vacated by King James. The league into which they entered was one "of friendship and amity, for offence and defence, mutual advice and succour, upon all just occasions;" and the commissioners were empowered to frame orders "in general cases of a civil nature, wherein all the plantations were interested."—Hazard, ii., and Hutchinson's Hist. of Mass., i., 120, *seqq.*—H.]

when he was solicited by the colony of Massachusetts to go again to England to answer the complaints of Samuel Gorton and others, who had charged them with religious intolerance and persecution.*† The times being

* Hutch., i., 145, 149.

† [The court made choice of Winslow, says Governor Winthrop (Journal, ii., 283), as a fit man to be employed in our present affairs in England, in regard of his abilities of presence, speech, courage, and understanding. He set sail about the middle of October, 1646.—Ib., 317. Besides the complaints of Gorton and his company, he was specially charged to answer the complaint of want of religious freedom in Massachusetts, preferred against that colony by William Vassal, of Scituate, and others. (See notes to the Life of Winthrop, of Mass.) He had several hearings before the commissioners for the affairs of New-England, among whom were the Earl of Warwick and Sir Henry Vane, both zealous Puritans, and friendly to New-England, by whose influence, doubtless, the colony escaped censure. One of the partisans of Vassal, if not Vassal himself, had published in a pamphlet, entitled "New-England's Jonas cast up at London," a statement of the case designed to the prejudice of the colony. Mr. Winslow wrote a reply, entitled "New-England's Salamander discovered," vindicating the colony, and retorting their accusations. The two tracts may be found, ii., Mass. Hist. Coll., iv., 107–120, and iii., Ib., ii., 110, *seqq.*

The case of Gorton is one of the difficult passages of the early history of Massachusetts. It is no easy task to separate the truth of his opinions from the mass of contemporary prejudice and misrepresentation. We cannot doubt that he was cruelly persecuted, and that the cause of it lay in certain singular theological opinions mystically expressed, and in a bold freedom which sometimes degenerated into insolence and contempt. He was arrested by order of court, and in 1643 condemned to be

changed, and the Puritans being in power, Mr. Winslow had great advantage in this business, from the credit and esteem which he enjoyed with that party. We have no account of the particulars of this agency, but only in general, that "by his prudent management he prevented any damage, and cleared the colony from any blame or dishonour."

One design of the confederation of the colonies was to promote the civilization of the Indians, and their conversion to the Christian religion. In this great and good work Mr. Winslow was, from principle, very zealously engaged. In England he employed his interest and friendship with members of the Parliament, and other gentlemen of quality and fortune, to erect a corporation there for the prosecution of the design.* For this purpose an act of Parliament was passed (1649), incorporating a society in England "for propagating the Gospel in New-England."† The

"confined at Charlestown, and there set on work, and to wear such bolts or irons as may hinder his escape," with the farther condition that, if he should maintain "any of his abominable heresies," he should be, on conviction, put to death. Seven of his associates were also confined in separate towns.—Winthrop's Journal, ii., 147, *note*.—H.]

* Hazard's State Papers, ii., 145, &c.

† [The charter of this society bears date July 27th, 1649. The

commissioners of the United Colonies were constituted a board of correspondents, and distributors of the money which was supplied in England by charitable donations from all the cities, towns, and parishes in the kingdom.* By the influence and exertions of both these respectable bodies, missions were supported among the Indians of New-England; the Bible and other books of piety

corporation consisted of sixteen persons. The impulse to its formation, as may be inferred from the agency of Mr. Winslow in it, was mainly derived from New-England. The hope of being useful in the conversion of the Indians had cheered the hearts of many of our pious fathers, who yet were never permitted to engage in that good work. They have been charged with neglecting it. But they seem to have deferred it for a time only from the necessities of their own condition, and till they could enter upon it with a reasonable prospect of success. From the earliest years of New-England might be found here and there one, like Hobomok, who had embraced the Christian faith. The holy labours of John Eliot were begun with the approval of his brethren, and the General Court added their sanction by a special act. The society in England greatly aided these pious efforts. Large collections were made to defray the expense of them, which were judiciously applied by the commissioners. The labours of Eliot, of the Mayhews, of Pierson, and Cotton, and Bourne, are worthy of a perpetual memorial in the hearts of those who love Christian fortitude and heroic self-denial. In aid of the formation of the society, a tract, entitled "The Glorious Progress of the Gospel among the Indians of New-England," written by Eliot and Mayhew, was published in London in 1649, with a preface by Mr. Winslow.—H.]

* Hazard's Collections, i., 636.

were translated into the Indian tongue, and printed for their use ; and much pains were taken by several worthy ministers and other gentlemen to instruct the Indians, and reduce them to a civilized life. This society is still in existence, and, till the late revolution in America, they kept up a board of correspondents at Boston, but since that period it has been discontinued. Of this corporation, at its first establishment, Mr. Winslow was a very active and faithful member in England, where his reputation was great, and his abilities highly valued by the prevailing party, who found him so much employment there and elsewhere that he never returned to New-England.*

When Oliver Cromwell (1655) planned an expedition against the Spaniards in the West Indies, and sent Admiral Penn and General Venables to execute it, he appointed three

* [Mr. Winslow was one of the commissioners appointed to determine the value of the English ships seized and detained by the King of Denmark, and for which restitution was to be made, according to the treaty of peace made with the Protector, April 5th, 1654. The commissioners were required to meet at Goldsmith's Hall, London, in the month of June ; and, in case they should not agree by a certain day in August, were to be shut up in a chamber, without fire, candles, meat, or drink, or any other refreshment, until they should agree.—Davis's note to Morton's Memorial, p. 261.—H.]

commissioners to superintend and direct their operations, of which number Winslow* was the chief; the other two were Richard Holdrip and Edward Blagge.† Their object was to attack St. Domingo, the only place of strength which the Spaniards had in Hispaniola.

The commanders disagreed in their tempers and views, and the control of the commissioners was of no avail. The troops, ill appointed and badly provided, were landed at too great a distance from the city, and lost their way in the woods. Worn with hunger and thirst, heat and fatigue, they were routed by an inconsiderable number of Spaniards; six hundred were killed, and the remnant took refuge on board their vessels.

To compensate as far as possible for this unfortunate event, the fleet sailed for Jamaica, which surrendered without any resistance. But Mr. Winslow, who partook of the chagrin of the defeat, did not enjoy the pleasure of the victory. In the passage between Hispaniola and Jamaica the heat of the climate

* [See two letters from Edward Winslow to Secretary Thurloe on the state of affairs in the West Indies, dated March 16th and 30th, 1654, '5, in Thurloe's State Papers, iii., 249, 325.—H.]

† Hume, chap. lxi.

threw him into a fever, which, operating with the dejection of his mind, put an end to his life on the eighth of May, 1655, in the sixty-first year of his age. His body was committed to the deep with the honours of war, forty-two guns being fired by the fleet on that occasion.

The following well-meant but inelegant verses were written by one of the passengers on board the same ship in which he died.

“The eighth of May, west from 'Spaniola shore,
God took from us our grand commissioner,
Winslow by name; a man in chieftest trust,
Whose life was sweet and conversation just;
Whose parts and wisdom most men did excel;
An honour to his place, as all can tell.”*

Before his departure from New-England Mr. Winslow had made a settlement on a valuable tract of land in Marshfield, to which he gave the name of Careswell, probably from a castle and seat of that name in Staffordshire.† His son, Josiah Winslow, was a magistrate and governor of the colony, and general of the New-England forces in the war with the Indians, called Philip's war. He died in 1680. Isaac, the son of Josiah Winslow, sustained the chief civil and military offices in the county of Plymouth after

* Morton's Memorial.

† See Camden's Britannia, 534.

its incorporation with Massachusetts, and was president of the provincial council. He died in 1738. John Winslow, the son of Isaac, was a captain in the unfortunate expedition to Cuba in 1740, and afterward an officer in the British service, and major-general in several expeditions to Kennebec, Nova Scotia, and Crown Point. He died in 1774, aged 71. His son, Dr. Isaac Winslow, is now in possession of the family estate at Marshfield. By the favour of this gentleman, the letter-books and journals of his late father, Major-general Winslow, with many ancient family papers containing a fund of genuine information, are deposited in the library of the Historical Society. There are several other reputable branches of this family in New-England and Nova Scotia.

XXIII. MILES STANDISH.

THIS intrepid soldier, the hero of New-England, as John Smith was of Virginia, was a native of Lancashire, in the north of England, but the date of his birth is not preserved. Descended from the younger branch of a family of distinction,* he was "heir-appa-

* All which I have been able to collect relative to the family of Standish is as follows :

Henry Standish, a Franciscan, D.D. of Cambridge, bishop of St. Asaph before the Reformation, was a bigot to popery. Falling down on his knees before King Henry VIII., he petitioned him to continue the religious establishment of his ancestors. This prelate died A.D. 1535, at a very advanced age.

John Standish, nephew to Henry, wrote a book against the translation of the Bible into the English language, and presented it to the Parliament. He died in 1556, in the reign of Queen Mary.*

Sir *Richard Standish*, of Whittle, near Charley. In his grounds a lead-mine was discovered not long before 1695, and wrought with good success. Near the same place is a quarry of mill-stones.†

The village of *Standish*, and a seat called *Standish Hall*, are situate near the River Douglass, in Lancashire, between the towns of Charley and Wigan, which are about 6 miles distant. Wigan is 9 miles north of Warrington, on the southern side of the county.‡—See Camden's Map of Lancashire.

* Fuller's Worthies of England, 109, 114.

† Camden's Britannia, 802.

‡ ["So late as 1707, I find that Sir Thomas Standish lived

rent to a great estate of lands and livings, surreptitiously detained from him," which compelled him to seek subsistence for himself. Though small in stature, he had an active genius, a sanguine temper, and a strong constitution. These qualities led him to the profession of arms; and the Netherlands being in his youth a theatre of war, he entered into the service of Queen Elizabeth in aid of the Dutch, and after the truce settled with the English refugees at Leyden.

When they meditated a removal to America, Standish, though not a member of their church, was thought a proper person to accompany them. Whether he joined them at their request or his own motion does not appear, but he engaged with zeal and resolution in their enterprise, and embarked with the first company in 1620.

On their arrival at Cape Cod he was appointed commander of the first party of sixteen men who went ashore on discovery; and when they began their settlement at Plymouth, he was unanimously chosen captain or chief military commander. In several interviews with the natives he was the first to

at Duxbury, the name of the family-seat in Lancashire."—Ancient Vestiges, quoted in Morton's Memorial, 263, note.—H.]

meet them, and was generally accompanied with a very small number of men, selected by himself.

After the league was made with Massasoit, one of his petty sachems, Corbitant, became discontented, and was meditating to join with the Narragansets against the English. Standish, with fourteen men and a guide, went to Corbitant's place [Swanzey] and surrounded his house ; but, not finding him at home, they informed his people of their intention of destroying him if he should persist in his rebellion. Corbitant, hearing of his danger, made an acknowledgment to Massasoit, and entreated his mediation with the English for peace. He was soon after [Sept. 13, 1621] admitted, with eight other chiefs, to subscribe an instrument of submission to the English government.

In every hazardous enterprise Captain Standish was ready to put himself foremost, whether the object were discovery, traffic, or war, and the people, animated by his example and confiding in his bravery and fidelity, thought themselves safe under his command.

When the town of Plymouth [1622] was enclosed and fortified, the defence of it was committed to the captain, who made the most

judicious disposition of their force.* He divided them into four squadrons, appointing those whom he thought most fit to command, and ordered every man, on any alarm, to repair to his respective station, and put himself under his proper officer. A select company was appointed, in case of accidental fire, to mount guard, with their backs to the fire, that they might prevent the approach of an enemy during the conflagration.

Being sent on a trading voyage to Matachiest [between Barnstable and Yarmouth, Feb., 1623], a severe storm came on during the first night, by which the harbour was filled with ice, and Captain Standish with his party were obliged to lodge in one of the huts of the savages. They came together in a considerable number, and under the mask of friendship promised to supply him with corn. Standish, suspecting, by their number, that their intention was hostile, would not permit

* ["By this time" (March, 1622), says Bradford, "our town is impaled, enclosing a garden for every family." "This summer" (1622), says Morton (p. 81, 82), "they built a fort with good timber, both strong and comely, which was of good defence, made with a flat roof and battlements, on which fort their ordnance was mounted, and where they kept constant watch, especially in time of danger. It served them also for a meeting-house, and was fitted accordingly for that use."—H.]

his men to lie down all at once, but ordered them to sleep and watch by turns. In the morning a discovery was made that some things had been stolen from his shallop. The captain immediately went with his whole force, consisting of six men, surrounded the house of sachem Ianough, and obliged him to find the thief and restore the stolen things. This resolute behaviour struck them with awe ; the trade went on peaceably, and, when the harbour was cleared, the shallop came off with a load of corn, and arrived safely at Plymouth.

This was the first suspicion of a conspiracy which had for some time been forming among the Indians to destroy the English. In the following month [March] he had another specimen of their insolence at Manomet,* whither he went to fetch home the corn which Governor Bradford had bought in the preceding autumn. The captain was

* Manomet is the name of a creek or river which runs through the town of Sandwich, into the upper part of Buzzard's Bay, formerly called Manomet Bay. Between this and Scusset Creek (into which Standish went and received his corn) is the place which, for more than a century, has been thought of as a proper place to be cut through, to form a communication by a navigable canal from Barnstable Bay to Buzzard's Bay.—Prince, 126.

not received with that welcome which the governor had experienced. Two Indians from Massachusetts were there, one of whom had an iron dagger, which he had gotten from some of Weston's people at Wessagusset [Weymouth], and which he gave to Canacum, the sachem of Manomet, in the view of Standish. The present was accompanied with a speech, which the captain did not then perfectly understand, but the purport of it was, "That the English were too strong for the Massachusetts Indians to attack without help from the others; because, if they should cut off the people in their bay, yet they feared that those of Plymouth would revenge their death. He therefore invited the sachem to join with them, and destroy both colonies. He magnified his own strength and courage, and derided the Europeans because he had seen them die, crying and making sour faces like children." An Indian of Paomet* was present, who had formerly been friendly, and now professed the same kindness, offering his personal service to get the corn on board the shallop, though he had never done such work before, and inviting the captain to lodge in his hut, as the weather was cold. Standish

* [Now Truro.—H.]

passed the night by his fire ; but, though earnestly pressed to take his rest, kept himself continually in motion, and the next day, by the help of the squaws, got his corn on board and returned to Plymouth. It was afterward discovered that this Indian intended to kill him if he had fallen asleep.

About the same time happened Mr. Winslow's visit to Massasoit in his sickness, and a full discovery of the plot which the Indians at Massachusetts had contrived to destroy the English. The people whom Weston had sent to plant a colony at Wessagusset were so disorderly and imprudent, that the Indians were not only disgusted with them, but despised them. These were destined to be the first victims. Their overseer, John Sanders, was gone to Monhegan to meet the fishermen at their coming to the coast, and get some provisions. During his absence the Indians had grown more insolent than before ; and it was necessary that some force should be sent thither, as well to protect the colony as to crush the conspiracy. Standish was the commander of the party ; and as this was his capital exploit, it may be most satisfactory and entertaining to give the account of it, as related by Mr. Winslow in his narrative :*

* [See Mass. Hist. Coll., viii., 265-271. Winslow's narra-

“ The 23d of March [1623] being a yearly court-day, we came to this conclusion, that Captain Standish should take as many men as he thought sufficient to make his party good against all the Indians in the Massachusetts Bay; and because it is impossible to deal with them upon open defiance, but to take them in such traps as they lay for others; therefore, that he should pretend trade, as at other times, but first go to the English and acquaint them with the plot and the end of his own coming, that, by comparing it with their carriage towards them, he might better judge of the certainty of it, and more fitly take opportunity to revenge the same; but should forbear, if it were possible, till such time as he could make sure of Wittuwamat, a bloody and bold villain, whose head he had orders to bring with him. Upon this, Captain Standish made choice of eight men, and would not take more, because he would prevent jealousy. On the next day, before he could go, came one* of Weston’s company to us with

tive is slightly abridged, and the language altered by Dr. Belknap.—H.]

* His name was Phinehas Pratt. An Indian followed him to kill him; but, by missing his way, he escaped and got into Plymouth. This man was living in 1677, when Mr. Hubbard wrote his history. The Indian who followed him went to Manomet,

a pack on his back, who made a pitiful narration of their lamentable and weak estate, and of the Indians' carriage, whose boldness increased abundantly, insomuch as they would take the victuals out of their pots, and eat before their faces; yea, if in anything they gainsayed them, they were ready to hold a knife at their breasts. He said that, to give them content, they had hanged one* of the

and on his return visited Plymouth, where he was put in irons. —Hubbard's MS. [In the printed copy, p. 78.—H.]

* Mr. Hubbard's account of this matter is as follows: "The company, as some report, pretended, in way of satisfaction, to punish him that did the theft, but in his stead hanged a poor decrepit old man that was unserviceable to the company, and burdensome to keep alive. This was the ground of the story, with which the morry gentleman that wrote the poem called *Hudibras* did, in his poetical fancy, make so much sport. The inhabitants of Plymouth tell the story much otherwise, as if the person hanged was really guilty of stealing, as were many of the rest. Yet it is possible that justice might be executed, not on him that most deserved it, but on him that could best be spared, or who was not likely to live long if he had been let alone."

The passage of *Hudibras* above referred to is in part ii., canto ii., line 403, &c. :

" Though nice and dark the point appear,
Quoth Ralph, it may hold up and clear;
That sinners may supply the place
Of suffering saints, is a plain case.
Justice gives sentence many times
On one man for another's crimes.
Our brethren of *New-England* use
Choice malefactors to excuse,

company who had stolen their corn, and yet
they regarded it not; that another of them

And hang the guiltless in their stead,
Of whom the churches have less need ;
As lately happen'd. In a town
There lived a cobbler, and but one,
Who out of doctrine could cut, use,
And mend men's lives as well as shoes.
This precious brother, having slain
In time of peace an Indian,
Not out of malice, but mere zeal
Because he was an infidel,
The mighty Tottipotimoy
Sent to our elders an envoy,
Complaining sorely of the breach
Of league held forth by brother Patch
Against the articles in force
Between both churches, his and ours ;
For which he craved the saints to render
Into his hands, or hang th' offender.
But they, maturely having weigh'd,
They had no more but him of the trade ;
A man that served them in a double
Capacity, to teach and cobble,
Resolved to spare him ; yet to do
The Indian Hogan Mogan, too,
Impartial justice, in his stead did
Hang an old weaver that was bedrid.
Then wherefore may not you be skipp'd,
And in your room another whipp'd ?”

The story is here most ridiculously caricatured as a slur upon the churches of New-England. I do not find that the people of Weston's plantation had any church at all ; they were a set of needy adventurers, intent only on gaining a subsistence. Mr. Neal says that “he obtained a patent under *pretence* of propaga-

had turned savage ; that their people had mostly forsaken the town, and made their rendezvous where they got their victuals, because they would not take pains to bring it home ; that they had sold their clothes for corn, and were ready to perish with hunger and cold, and that they were dispersed into three companies, having scarcely any powder and shot. As this relation was grievous to us, so it gave us good encouragement to proceed ; and the wind coming fair the next day, March 25, Captain Standish being now fitted, set forth for Massachusetts.

“The captain being come to Massachusetts,* went first to the ship, but found neither man nor dog therein. On the discharge of a musket the master and some others showed themselves, who were on shore gathering ground-nuts and other food. After salutation, Captain Standish asked them how they dared so leave the ship, and live in such security. They answered, like men senseless of their own misery, that they feared not the Indians, but lived and suffered them to lodge with them, not having sword nor gun, or needing the

ting the discipline of the Church of England in America.”—Hist. N. E., ch. iii., p. 102.

* [I. e., Weymouth.—H]

same. To which the captain replied, that if there were no cause, he was glad. But, upon farther inquiry, understanding that those in whom John Sanders had reposed most confidence were at the plantation, thither he went, and made known the Indians' purpose and the end of his own coming, and told them that, if they durst not stay there, it was the intention of the governor and people of Plymouth to receive them till they could be better provided for. These men answered that they could expect no better, and it was of God's mercy that they were not killed before his coming, desiring that he would neglect no opportunity to proceed ; hereupon he advised them to secrecy, and to order one third of their company that were farthest off to come home, and on pain of death to keep there, himself allowing them a pint of Indian corn to a man for a day, though that was spared out of our seed. The weather proving very wet and stormy, it was the longer before he could do anything.

“ In the mean time an Indian came to him and brought some furs, but rather to get what he could from the captain than to trade ; and though the captain carried things as smoothly as he could, yet at his return the Indian re-

ported that he saw by his eyes that he was angry in his heart, and therefore began to suspect themselves discovered. This caused one Pecksuot, who was a Pinese* [chief], being a man of a notable spirit, to come to Hobbamock [Standish's Indian guide and interpreter], and tell him that he understood the captain was come to kill himself and the rest of the savages there: 'Tell him,' said he, 'we know it, but fear him not, neither will we shun him; but let him begin when he dare, he shall not take us at unawares.' Many times after, divers of them, severally or a few together, came to the plantation, where they would whet and sharpen the point of their knives before his face, and use many other insulting gestures and speeches. Among the rest, Wittuwamat bragged of the excellency of his knife, on the handle of which was pictured a woman's face. 'But,' said he, 'I have another at home, wherewith I have killed both French and English, and that hath a man's face on it, and by-and-by these two must be married.' Farther he said of that knife which he there had, *Hinnaim namen, hinnaim michen, matta cuts*; that is to say, *by-and-by it should see, by-and-by it should eat*,

* [Winslow spells this word Paniese.—H.]

but not speak. Also Pecksuot, being a man of greater stature than the captain, told him, 'though you are a great captain, yet you are but a little man; though I be no sachem, yet I am a man of great strength and courage.' These things the captain observed, but for the present bore them with patience.

"On the next day, seeing he could not get many of them together at once, but Pecksuot and Wittuwamat being together, with another man and the brother of Wittuwamat, a youth of eighteen, putting many tricks on the weaker sort of men, and having about as many of his own men in the same room, the captain gave the word to his men; and the door being fast shut, he begun himself with Pecksuot, and, snatching the knife from his neck, after much struggling killed him therewith; the rest killed Wittuwamat and the other man; the youth they took and hanged. It is incredible how many wounds these men received before they died, not making any fearful noise, but catching at their weapons and striving to the last. Hobbamock stood by as a spectator, observing how our men demeaned themselves in the action, which being ended, he, smiling, brake forth and said, 'Yesterday Pecksuot bragged of his own

strength and stature, and told you that, though you were a great captain, yet you were but a little man; but to-day I see you are big enough to lay him on the ground.'

"There being some women at the same time there, Captain Standish left them in the custody of Weston's people at the town, and sent word to another company to kill those Indian men that were among them. These killed two more: himself, with some of his own men, went to another place and killed another; but, through the negligence of one man, an Indian escaped, who discovered and crossed their proceedings.

"Captain Standish took one half of his men, with one or two of Weston's and Hobbamock, still seeking them. At length they espied a file of Indians making towards them; and, there being a small advantage in the ground by reason of a hill, both companies strove for it. Captain Standish got it; whereupon the Indians retreated, and took each man his tree, letting fly their arrows amain, especially at himself and Hobbamock. Whereupon Hobbamock cast off his coat, and chased them so fast that our people were not able to hold way with him. They could have but one certain mark, the arm and half

the face of a notable villain, as he drew [his bow] at Captain Standish, who, with another, both discharged at him and brake his arm. Whereupon they fled into a swamp: when they were in the thicket they parlied, but got nothing but foul language. So our captain dared the sachem to come out and fight like a man, showing how base and woman-like he was in tonguing it as he did; but he refused and fled. So the captain returned to the plantation, where he released the women, and took not their beaver coats from them, nor suffered the least discourtesy to be offered them.

“Now were Weston’s people resolved to leave the plantation, and go to Monhegan, hoping to get passage and return [to England] with the fishing ships. The captain told them that, for his own part, he durst live there with fewer men than they were; yet, since they were otherwise minded, according to his orders from the governor and people of Plymouth, he would help them with corn, which he did, scarce leaving himself more than brought them home. Some of them disliked to go to Monhegan; and, desiring to go with him to Plymouth, he took them into the shallop; and, seeing the others set sail,

and clear of Massachusetts Bay, he took leave and returned to Plymouth, bringing the head of Wittuwamat, which was set up on the fort.*

“ This sudden and unexpected execution hath so terrified and amazed the other people who intended to join with the Massachusettses against us, that they forsook their houses, running to and fro like men distracted, living in swamps and other desert places, and so brought diseases upon themselves, whereof many are dead ; as Canacum, sachem of Manomet ; Aspinet, of Nauset ; and Ianough, of Matachiest. This sachem [Ianough], in the midst of these distractions, said, ‘ the God of the English was offended with them, and would destroy them in his anger.’ From one of these places, a boat was sent with presents to the governor, hoping thereby to work their peace ; but the boat was lost, and three of the people drowned ; only one

* This may excite in some minds an objection to the humanity of our forefathers. The reason assigned for it was, that it might prove a terror to others. In matters of war and public justice, they observed the customs and laws of the English nation. As late as the year 1747, the heads of the lords who were concerned in the Scots rebellion were set up over Temple-Bar, the most frequented passage between London and Westminster.

escaped, who returned ; so that none of them durst come among us."

The Indian who had been confined at Plymouth, on his examination, confessed the plot, in which five persons were principally concerned, of whom two were killed. He protested his own innocence, and his life was spared on condition that he would carry a message to his sachem, Obtakiest, demanding three of Weston's men whom he held in custody. A woman returned with his answer, that the men were killed before the message arrived, for which he was very sorry.

Thus ended Weston's plantation, within one year after it began. He had been one of the adventurers to Plymouth, but quitted them and took a separate patent, and his plantation was intended to rival that of Plymouth.* He did not come in person to Amer-

* [Weston's patent covered a tract lying along the southern shore of Massachusetts Bay. In the summer of 1622 he sent over three ships, the *Charity*, the *Sparrow*, and the *Swan*, "on his own particular interest," partly for fishing, and partly to make a permanent settlement. The *Sparrow* was sold in Virginia ; the *Charity*, returning from Virginia, landed the company at Weymouth, and went on to England ; the *Swan* remained at Weymouth.—Prince, 202, 3, 5, 6. Mr. Weston was singularly unfortunate in the choice of his men. He himself testifies that "many of them are rude and profane fellows." They were strangely destitute of suitable control. Mr. Green, brother-in-law

ica till after the dispersion of his people, some of whom he found among the eastern

of Weston, who was the superintendent of the expedition, with authority to enforce discipline, died before they reached Weymouth. Sanders, who succeeded him, was necessarily much absent. Whether Weston designed to found a planting, or a fishing and trading settlement, we do not certainly know; probably the latter, though the settlers were but scantily furnished with the means of traffic with the natives. They seem to have fished little, to have traded only enough to procure provisions to sustain life, and to have planted none at all. They were wasteful of the little they had; and, when that was gone, what they could not beg, they stole, for the natives speedily put an end to all attempts at borrowing. They were soon reduced to the extremest necessity, so that some "would cut wood for the Indians, or fetch them water, for a cap full of corn;" and "when night came, whereas possibly some of them had a snug blanket or such like to lap themselves in, the Indians would take it, and let the other lie in the cold."—Morton, 78, 9, 84, 7, 8. They were dependant on the colony at Plymouth for the care and healing of their sick. The whole expedition seems to have been unwisely planned or ill appointed. Weston himself laid the blame of the miscarriage on his own absence, and declared to Robert Gorges that "he left them sufficiently provided, and conceived they would have been well governed." In his eagerness for gain, he probably overlooked or neglected the most important means of success. Indeed, he was not over-scrupulous as to the means he used. He purchased a large quantity of cannon, under a license from the council for New-England to transport them to America, "pretending great fortification here," which he sold in England contrary to his agreement.—Morton, 104, 105. This writer adds, "The said Mr. Thomas Weston was a man of parts, and a merchant of good account in London. Some time after these passages he went for London, and died in the city of Bristol."—H.]

fishermen, and from them he first heard of the ruin of his enterprise. In a storm, he was cast away between the rivers of Piscataqua and Merrimac, and was robbed by the natives of all which he had saved from the wreck. Having borrowed a suit of clothes from some of the people at Piscataqua, he came to Plymouth, where, in consideration of his necessity, the government lent him two hundred weight of beaver, with which he sailed to the eastward, with such of his own people as were disposed to accompany him. It is observed that he never repaid the debt but with enmity and reproach.*

The next adventure in which we find Captain Standish engaged was at Cape Ann, where the fishermen of Plymouth had in 1624 erected a stage, and a company from the west of England in the following year had taken possession of it. Standish was ordered from Plymouth with a party to retake it, but met a refusal. The controversy grew warm, and high words passed on both sides. But the prudence of Roger Conant, agent for the west countrymen, and of Mr. Pierce, master of their ship, prevented matters from coming to extremity. The ship's crew lent their as-

* Prince, p. 135.

sistance in building another stage, which the Plymouth fishermen accepted in lieu of the former, and thus peace and harmony were restored.* Mr. Hubbard, who has preserved the memory of this affair, reflects on Captain Standish in the following manner: "He had been bred a soldier in the Low Countries, and never entered into the school of Christ or of John the Baptist; or, if ever he was there, he had forgot his first lessons, to offer violence to no man, and to part with the cloak rather than needlessly contend for the coat, though taken away without order. A little chimney is soon fired; so was the Plymouth captain, a man of very small stature, yet of a very hot and angry temper. The fire of his

* [The "company from the west of England" was the one formed by the influence of the famous Rev. Mr. White, of Dorchester, the firm and judicious friend of colonization in New-England. Oldham, who had been banished from Plymouth, was invited to manage the trade with the Indians: Mr. Lyford was appointed their minister; and Roger Conant, "a pious, sober, and prudent gentleman," to superintend the fishing and planting. "The master of their ship" was "one Mr. Hewes," who, instead of acting the peacemaker, "barricadoed his company with hogsheads," and prepared for a stout defence.—Hubbard's New-England, iii. Mr. William Pierce, by whose good offices the quarrel was settled, and "who lay just by with his ship," was now from Plymouth, to which place he had brought Edward Winslow from England.—Prince, 232. This company in 1627 removed to Salem.—Felt's Annals of Salem, 1, 2.—H.]

passion, soon kindled, and blown up into a flame by hot words, might easily have consumed all had it not been seasonably quenched.”*

When the news of the transactions at Wessagusset, where Standish had killed the Indians, was carried to Europe, Mr. Robinson from Leyden wrote to the Church of Plymouth, “to consider the disposition of their captain, who was of a warm temper.† He hoped the Lord had sent him among them for good, if they used him right; but he doubted whether there was not wanting that tenderness of the life of man, made after God’s image, which was meet; and he thought it would have been happy if they had converted some before they had killed any.”

The best apology for Captain Standish is, that, as a soldier, he had been accustomed to discipline and obedience; that he considered himself as the military servant of the colony, and received his orders from the governor and people. Sedentary persons are not always the best judges of a soldier’s merit or feelings. Men of his own profession will ad

* Hubbard’s MS., p. 84.

† Hutchinson, ii., 461.

mire the courage of Standish, his promptitude and decision in the execution of his orders. No one has ever charged him either with failure in point of obedience or of wantonly exceeding the limits of his commission. If the arm of flesh were necessary to establish the rights, and defend the lives and property of colonists in a new country, surrounded with enemies and false friends, certainly such a man as Standish, with all his imperfections, will hold a high rank among the worthies of New-England. Mr. Prince does not scruple to reckon him among those heroes of antiquity "who chose to suffer affliction with the people of God; who through faith subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, obtained promises, stopped the mouths of lions, waxed valiant in fight, and turned to flight the armies of the aliens;"* and even Mr. Hubbard, in another part of his history, says that Captain Standish "was a gentleman very expert in military service, by whom the people were all willing to be ordered in those concerns. He was likewise improved [employed] to good acceptance and success in affairs of the greatest moment in that colony, to whose interest he continued firm and stead-

* Preface to Mason's History of Pequod War.

fast to the last, and always managed his trust with great integrity and faithfulness.”*

Two ships which had come with supplies to the colony, the same year (1625) returned, in the autumn, with cargoes of fish and furs.† In one of these Standish embarked as agent for the colony,‡ and arrived safely in England; the other was captured by a Turkish ship of war, and the loss of her valuable cargo was a severe blow to the colony. He arrived in a very unfortunate time; the plague raging in London, carried off more than forty thousand people in the space of one year. Commerce was stagnated, the merchants and members of the Council of New-England were dispersed, and no meeting could be holden. All which Captain Standish could do was by private conference to prepare

* Hubbard's MS., p. 50.

† [One of them, which was ordered to Bilboa, had on board £1800 worth of fish.—H.]

‡ [“Both to the remaining adventurers for more goods, and to the New-England Council, to oblige the others to come to a composition.”—Prince, 234. The colonists had formed a higher estimation of his capacity for war than for business. Governor Bradford wrote to Mr. Cushman, June 9, 1625, “I pray you, be as helpful to him as you can, especially in making our provisions, for therein he hath the least skill.”—Bradford's Letter-Book, in Mass. Hist. Coll., iii., 36. See p. 36 for his commission.—H.]

the way for a composition with the company of adventurers, and by the help of a few friends, with great trouble and danger, to procure a small quantity of goods for the colony, amounting to £150, which he took up at the exorbitant interest of 50 per cent. With this insufficient but welcome supply, he returned to Plymouth in the spring [April] of 1626, bringing the sorrowful news of the death of Mr. Robinson and Mr. Cushman.

Several attempts were, about this time, made to form plantations within the Bay of Massachusetts, at Cape Ann, and Piscataqua.*† Among these adventurers was one

* Morton's Memorial, 68.

† [The attempted settlements in Massachusetts Bay and at Cape Ann have been referred to. The first settlement on the Piscataqua was made under a patent granted in 1621 to Capt. John Mason and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, of a tract lying between the Merrimac and Sagadahock, and called by them Laconia. They entered into partnership with sundry merchants of London and elsewhere, under the title of "the Company of Laconia," and in the spring of 1623 sent over David Thompson, and William and Edward Hilton, and others, provided with necessities for a colony and a fishery. The settlers were divided into two companies, one of which was stationed at the mouth of the river, and the other on its banks about eight miles above, at a place since called Dover. The enterprise was successful, and the plantation proved permanent, though its increase was not so rapid as that of Plymouth.—Belknap's History of New-Hampshire, 6, 7.—H.]

Captain Wollaston,* “a man of considerable parts, and with him three or four more of some eminence, who brought over many servants and much provisions.” He pitched on the southern side of the bay, at the head of the creek, and called an adjoining hill Mount Wollaston [Quincy]. One of his company was Thomas Morton, “a pettifogger of Furnival’s Inn,” who had some property of his own, or of other men committed to him. After a short trial, Wollaston, not finding his expectations realized, went to Virginia, with a great part of the servants; and, being better pleased with that country, sent for the rest to come to him. Morton thought this a proper opportunity to make himself head of the company; and, in a drunken frolic, persuaded them to depose Filcher, the lieutenant, and set up for *liberty and equality*.

Under this influence they soon became licentious and debauched.† They sold their goods to the natives for furs, taught them the

* [Wollaston came to America, with about thirty persons, in 1625, and finally left Quincy in 1626.—H.]

† [“Quaffing,” says Morton (137), “and drinking both wine and strong liquors in great excess; as some have reported, ten pounds’ worth in a morning; setting up a Maypole, drinking and dancing about it, and frisking about it as so many fairies, or furies rather.—H.]

use of arms, and employed them in hunting. They invited and received fugitives from all the neighbouring settlements, and thus endangered their safety, and obliged them to unite their strength in opposition to them. Captain Endicott, from Naumkeag,* made them a visit, and gave them a small check by cutting down a Maypole which they had erected as a central point of dissipation and extravagance; but it was reserved for Captain Standish to break up their infamous combination. After repeated friendly admonitions, which were disregarded, at the request and joint expense† of the scattered planters, and by order of the government of

* [Salem. Endecott was afterward for many years governor of Massachusetts.—H.]

† From the bill of expense sent to the Council of New-England, may be seen the number and ability of the plantations in 1628.

Plymouth contributed	£2 : 10
Naumkeag [Salem]	1 : 10
Pascataquack [Mason's company] .	2 : 10
Mr. Jeffery and Mr. Burslem . .	2
Nantascot	1 : 10
Mr. Thomson [Squantum Neck] . .	15
Mr. Blackston [Boston]	12
Mr. Edward Hilton [Dover] . .	1
	<hr/>
	12 : 7

See Gov. Bradford's Letter-Book in Coll. Hist. Soc., iii., 63.

Plymouth, he went to Mount Wollaston, and summoned Morton to surrender. Morton prepared for his defence, armed his adherents, heated them with liquor, and answered Standish with abusive language. But when he stepped out of his door to take aim at his antagonist, the captain seized his musket with one hand and his collar with the other, and made him prisoner. The others quietly submitted. No blood was shed, nor a gun fired. They were all conducted to Plymouth, and thence sent to England, where Morton was treated with less severity than he deserved, and was permitted to return and disturb the settlements till the establishment of the Massachusetts Colony, when he retired to Piscataqua, and there ended his days.*

* [No better account of this transaction and of the history of Morton can be easily given than that in Judge Davis's learned note to Morton's Memorial, p. 141. We give the substance of it. From the order of occurrences in this narrative, it would be inferred that the Maypole was cut down by Mr. Endecott before Morton was arrested by Captain Standish; but letters from Plymouth to the Council for New-England, and to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, written to be sent to England with the prisoner, bear date June 9th, 1628, which was more than two months before Mr. Endicott's arrival at Salem.—See Gov. Bradford's Letter-Book, Mass. Hist. Coll., iii., 62, 63. Morton was arrested in the spring or early in the summer of 1628, and sent to England a prisoner soon afterward, by a ship going from the Isle of Shoals. Mr. Oldham had so acquired the confidence of the Ply-

After this encounter, which happened in 1628, we have no particular account of Cap-

mouth people since their reconciliation, that the prisoner was delivered to his charge. Mr. Endecott arrived in August, and very soon made his visit to the unruly people at Mount Wollaston. In August, 1629, Morton returned, being employed by Mr. Allerton as his scribe, which gave great offence. Mr. Allerton was required to dismiss him. "Upon which," says Governor Bradford, "he goes to his old nest at Merry Mount." In September, 1631, Governor Winthrop having arrived, Morton was adjudged to be "imprisoned till he were sent into England, and his house burned down for his many injuries offered to the Indians, and other misdemeanours."—Winthr. Jour., 20. He was sent to England soon afterward in the ship *Whale*. [In 1632 he published a "scurrilous book," entitled "New English Canaan, or new Canaan, containing an Abstract of New-England, composed in three bookes." In the titlepage, he styles himself "of Clifford's Inn, Gent.," and says it was written "upon ten yeares knowledge and experiment of the country." This work has been very rare, but has been republished in Force's Historical Tracts, vol. ii.] That part of the book which relates to the Plymouth planters is full of invective and misrepresentation, calculated to gain a degree of indulgence, however, with some readers, from the air of pleasantry he adopts. He abounds in the vulgar wit of nicknames: Standish he calls Captain Shrimp; Endecott is styled Captain Littleworth; Mr. Fuller is Dr. Noddy. His letter to his friend Jeffries in 1634, published in Hazard's Historical Collections, and in Hutchinson's History, i., 35, shows the taste and temper of the man, and his inveterate resentment against the New-England plantations and their leaders. The name of the ship [the *Whale*] in which he was conveyed from Boston to England exercises his punning genius. To this he alludes in his letter to Jeffries: "Now, *Jonas* being set ashore, may safely cry, Repent, ye cruell shipmates, there are but 110 days." The party which arrested him he calls the *Nine*

tain Standish. He is not mentioned in the account of the Pequot war in 1637. He was chosen one of the magistrates or assistants of Plymouth Colony as long as he lived. As he advanced in years, he was much afflicted with the stone and the strangury: he died in 1656, being then very old, at Duxbury, near Plymouth, where he had a tract of land, which to this day is known by the name of Captain's Hill.*

Worthies of New Canaan, and affects to represent the name *Merry Mount* as a blundering acceptance of *Mare Mount*.

His last return to New-England was in 1643. Hutchinson says that he was called to account for the letter to Jeffries, as well as for his book [having been kept in prison about a year.—Winthrop's Journal, ii., 192]; that he was fined £100, which he was unable to pay, and that nothing but his old age [Winthrop says, "being old and crazy"] saved him from the whipping-post. [Winthrop, l. c., adds, that, having been set at liberty, he "went to Acomenticus (York), and, living there poor and despised, he died within two years after."]—H.]

* [Judge Davis, to whose researches we are already so largely indebted, has collected probably all that can be ascertained of this "primitive hero." We copy the greater part of his note on Morton's Memorial, p. 262.

"Captain Standish was one of the first settlers of Duxbury, but resided occasionally at Plymouth, especially in the winter months. Dr. Belknap observes that we have no particular account of him after his seizure of Morton at Merry Mount in 1628, and that he is not mentioned in the account of the Pequot war in 1637. Had the Plymouth troops, which were in preparation at that crisis, been employed, there is no doubt Standish would have been at their head; but, as is related [Morton],

He had one son, Alexander, who died in Duxbury. The late Dr. Wheelock, founder

p. 188, their march was countermanded. In 1645, when war-like movements were commenced against the Narragansets, Standish commanded the Plymouth troops.—[Ib., p. 203, note.] In 1653, when hostilities with the Dutch at Manhattan were apprehended, a council of war was appointed in Plymouth Colony, of which Standish was one. Warrants were issued for the impressment of sixty men, and Standish was appointed to command them. It thus appears that he continued active in military employments, on every necessary occasion, until within three years of his death. He was uniformly one of the board of Assistants.

“After the death of his wife [Rose, January 29.—Prince, 184], 1621, he soon married again. In the assignment of lands in 1623, the name of Mrs. Standish is on the list. We know not the previous name of the lady, but it appears she came in the ship *Ann*. In 1625, when the cattle were divided, he stands at the head of the third lot, with his wife Barbara.—[Morton’s Memorial, 382.] Charles, Alexander, and John, his children, are associated with him in that assignment. Alexander married Sarah Alden, daughter of John Alden.

“The Rev. Timothy Alden, Jun., in his *Collection of Epitaphs* (vol. iii., 265), gives an amusing traditionary anecdote relative to the connubial pursuits of Captain Standish and his friend John Alden. The lady who had gained the captain’s affections is said to have been Priscilla Mullins, daughter of William Mullins. John Alden was sent to make proposals in behalf of Standish. The messenger, though a Pilgrim, was then young and comely, and the lady, with perfect naïveté, expressed her preference by the question, *Prithee, John, why do you not speak for yourself?* The captain’s hopes were blasted, and the frank overture soon ended in the marriage of John Alden and Priscilla Mullins, from whom, we are informed, are descended ‘all of the name Alden in the United States.’ The captain, it is added,

of Dartmouth College, and Mr. Kirkland, missionary to the Indians, were descended from him. One of his grandsons was in possession of his coat of mail, which is now supposed to be lost; but his sword is preserved in the cabinet of the Historical Society, of which one of his descendants, John Thornton Kirkland, is a member. His name is still venerated, and the merchants of Plymouth and Boston have named their ships after him. His posterity chiefly reside in several towns of the county of Plymouth.

never forgave his friend till the day of his death. As he was so soon afterward united to another lady of his choice, we may hope that the traditionary account of his inveterate resentment has been exaggerated.

“This anecdote has often been repeated in the old colony in fireside chat about the Pilgrims, but with circumstances which would refer the incident to a later period.”—H.]

III.—M

XXIV. JOHN WINTHROP,

FIRST GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS.

THIS worthy gentleman was descended from a family remarkable for its attachment to the reformed religion from the earliest period of the Reformation. His grandfather, Adam Winthrop, was an eminent lawyer and lover of the Gospel in the reign of Henry VIII., and brother to a memorable friend of the Reformation in the reign of Mary I., in whose hands the martyr Philpot left his papers, which make a considerable part of the History of the Martyrs. His father, Adam Winthrop, was a gentleman of the same profession and character. Governor Winthrop was born at the family-seat at Groton, in Suffolk, June 12, 1587,* and was bred to the law, though he had a very strong inclination to theological studies. At the age of eighteen he was made a justice of the peace, and his virtues became conspicuous. He was ex-

* [This date is given by Mather and others. There was, perhaps, some clerical error.—See Savage's note to Winthrop's Journal, i., 63, and ii., 338, from which it appears that he was born January 12th, 1588.—H.]

emplary in his profession as an upright and impartial magistrate, and in his private character as a Christian. He had wisdom to discern, and fortitude to do right in the execution of his office; and as a gentleman, was remarkable for liberality and hospitality. These qualities rendered him dear to men of sobriety and religion, and fitted him to engage in the great and difficult work of founding a colony.

When the design of settling a colony in New-England was by some eminent persons undertaken, this gentleman was, by the consent of all, chosen for their leader. Having converted a fine estate of six or seven hundred pounds sterling per annum into money, he embarked for New-England in the forty-third year of his age,* and arrived at Salem with the Massachusetts charter, June 12, 1630.† Within five days, he, with some of

* [See the preceding note.—H.]

† [The Council for New-England, March 19th, 1628, granted to Sir Henry Roswell, Sir John Young, Thomas Southcoat, John Humfry, John Endecott, and Simon Whetcomb, and their heirs and associates, a portion of the territory of New-England, extending three miles north of the Merrimac River, and three miles south of the Charles, and within these limits from the Atlantic to the South Sea; reserving to the crown a fifth part of all the gold and silver ore discovered in it. The three first-named patentees soon sold out their interest in the company to several

the principal persons of the colony, travelled through the woods* twenty miles, to look out

“religious persons in and about London,” who were anxious to secure a place of retreat for oppressed Nonconformists. On the 20th of June the same year this company sent out Captain John Endecott, with suitable companions and provisions for commencing a settlement at Naumkeag, now Salem. The patent from the New-England Council was confirmed by charter from King Charles I., March 4th, 1629. Matthew Cradock, the governor, proposed, July 28th, to transfer the government to those who should go to reside in Massachusetts. The proposal was committed, discussed, and, August 29th, “the generality of the company vote that the patent and government of the plantation be removed to New-England.” October 20th, at a meeting of the company for the election of a new governor, &c., “the court having received extraordinary great commendation of Mr. John Winthrop, both for his integrity and sufficiency, as being one very well fitted for the place, with a full consent, choose him governor for the year ensuing.” Preparations were made for the removal of a large number of colonists, and in the spring eleven ships were ready with about fifteen hundred passengers. The fleet sailed early in April; and the *Arbella*, in which was Governor Winthrop, arrived off Cape Ann, Friday, June 11th, and the next day entered the harbour of Salem. The beginnings of Massachusetts were small and feeble. Though the colony was numerically respectable, a slight share of this world’s goods fell to the share of the most of them. They were content to suffer privations, if they might enjoy present security and a fair hope for the future. They dwelt in tents and booths, and their place of worship was the shade of a large tree in the open air.—H.]

* [It may be thought needless accuracy to suggest that probably they went by water, and not “through the woods.” At all events, they returned “by way of Nantaskot.”—Journal, i., 28. The position of Charlestown was already well known. A few

a convenient situation for a town in some part of the Bay of Massachusetts. Some of them built their huts on the north side of Charles River [Charlestown]; but the governor and most of the assistants pitched upon the Peninsula of *Shawmut*,* and lived there the first winter, intending in the spring to build a fortified town, but undetermined as to its situation. On the sixth of December they resolved to fortify the isthmus of that peninsula; but, changing their minds before the month expired, they agreed upon a place about three miles above Charlestown, which they called first Newtown, and afterward Cambridge, where they engaged to build houses the ensuing spring. The rest of the winter they suffered much by the severity of the season, and were obliged to live upon acorns, ground-nuts, and shellfish.† One of the poorer sort

days after, July 2d, the governor suffered a severe affliction in the loss of his second son Henry, “a sprightly and hopeful young gentleman,” who was accidentally drowned the day after his landing.—H.]

* [The Indian name of Boston. It was called at first by the English Trimountain (whence Tremont), “on account of three contiguous hills appearing in a range, to those at Charlestown.” The name Boston was given it out of regard to the famous Mr. Cotton, who had long lived at a place of the same name in England. The governor removed to this place about November.—H.]

† [“Bread with many,” says Captain Clap, “was a very

coming to the governor to complain, was told that the last batch was in the oven; but of this he had his share. They had appointed the 22d of February* for a fast; but, before it came, a ship arrived with provisions, and they turned it into a day of thanksgiving.

In the spring of 1631, in pursuance of the intended plan, the governor set up the frame of a house at Newtown; the deputy-governor† also built one, and removed his family.

scarce thing, and flesh of all kinds as scarce; and oh the hunger that many suffered, and saw no hope in the eye of reason to be supplied but with fish, clams, and muscles. But God caused his people to be content with mean things, and to trust in him. Wheat meal was worth now fourteen shillings sterling a bushel, and pease eleven shillings, 'and not easy to be procured neither.'—H.]

* [The fast was appointed for the sixth of February. The people were alarmed for the safety of a ship which had been sent to Ireland for provisions, and which returned February 5th. The thanksgiving was the 22d.—Prince, 341, 342.—H.]

† [The deputy-governor was Thomas Dudley, who had been chosen to that place by the company in England, March 23d, 1630, and came with Winthrop in the summer. He was born at Northampton in the year 1576. He studied law for some time, was made captain of a company of volunteers for the French service under Henry IV., and was present at the siege of Amiens. On the restoration of peace he returned to England, and went into the household of the Earl of Lincoln as steward, in which office he gained a good reputation for prudence and exact fidelity. Already a Puritan, he was easily induced to join the emigrants to Massachusetts, to whom he was a valuable acquisition, from his tried integrity and his great ex-

About this time Chicketaubu,* the chief of the Indians in that neighbourhood, made a perience. He was continued deputy-governor, by successive elections, till 1634, when he was chosen governor. He was then chosen one of the assistants till 1640, when he was made governor, and again in 1645 and in 1650. He died at Roxbury, July 31, 1653. The celebrated Joseph Dudley, president, and governor of Massachusetts 1703–1715, was his son by a second marriage. The elder Dudley came to New-England when past the prime of life, and was of a melancholic temperament, and apt to resent supposed neglect. He gave some trouble by his jealousy, his irritable temper, and his disposition to avarice. Governor Belcher made this epitaph on him :

“Here lies Thomas Dudley, that trusty old stud :
A bargain’s a bargain, and must be made good.”

He was strongly inclined to fanaticism, and rigidly intolerant. A copy of verses, found in his pocket after his decease, has these lines :

“Let Men of God in Courts and Churches watch
On such as do a TOLERATION HATCH.”—H.]

* [The first interview of the governor with Chickatabot, as the name is spelled by Winthrop, is worth transcribing. “Chickatabot came (March 23d, 1630) with his sannups (chiefs) and squaws, and presented the governor with a hogshead of Indian corn. After they had all dined, and had each a small cup of sack and beer, and the men tobacco, he sent away all his men and women (though the governor would have stayed them in regard of the rain and thunder). Himself and one squaw and one sannup stayed all night ; and being in English clothes, the governor set him at his own table, where he behaved himself as soberly, &c., as an Englishman. The next day after dinner he returned home, the governor giving him cheese, and pease, and a mug, and other small things.”—Journal, i., 48. For several years after their arrival, the colonists lived in continual fear of the Indians, yet they suffered very little.—H.]

visit to the governor, with high professions of friendship. The apprehension of danger from the Indians abated, and the scheme of a fortified town was gradually laid aside ; though, if it had been retained, the peninsula would have been a situation far preferable to Newtown. The governor took down his frame and removed it to Shawmut,* which was finally determined upon for the metropolis, and named Boston.†

The three following years he was continued, by annual election, at the head of the government, for which office he was eminently qualified, and in which he shone with a lustre which would have done him honour in a larger sphere and a more elevated situation.

* [About the last of October, 1631. Dudley seems to have remained at Cambridge some years.—Prince, 363, 364.—H.]

† [Already several points on the coast were occupied when Winthrop and his company arrived. A colony had been settled at Plymouth ten years before, and was now well established and flourishing. Endecott and his company were going on prosperously at Salem ; the Spragues had made some progress at Charlestown ; Weston had begun and abandoned a settlement at Wessagusset (now Weymouth) ; Morton had established a rude and riotous colony at Mount Wollaston (now Quincy) ; Cape Ann and Nantasket had been built upon ; Blackston was the solitary occupant of the Peninsula of Shawmut. Besides these, and a few families dotting the shore at great intervals, at points favourable for fishing, the whole region was in possession of its original inhabitants.—H.]

He was the father, as well as governor, of an infant plantation. His time, his study, his exertions, his influence, and his interest were all employed in the public service. His wisdom, patience, and magnanimity were conspicuous in the most severe trials, and his exemplary behaviour as a Christian added a splendour to all his rare qualifications.* He

* [The religious character of Governor Winthrop was marked with great deliberateness and calmness, and with a degree of liberality which was uncommon in his day. He was temperate, but firm, in his views of truth and duty, rarely led into heat or extravagance, yet fervent in his devotion, and often denying himself for the cause of religion. He was a strenuous believer, as were most men in his day, in special interpositions of Providence. This belief is apt to degenerate into superstition, and in him sometimes takes a shape that is almost ludicrous. Thus he records in his Journal, "About this time (1640) there fell out a thing worthy of observation. Mr. Winthrop the younger, having many books in a chamber where there was corn of divers sorts, had among them one wherein the Greek, the Psalms, and the Common Prayer were bound together. He found the Common Prayer eaten with mice every leaf of it, and not any of the two other touched, nor any other of his books, though there were above a thousand."

The company who emigrated with Winthrop were not among the most rigid opposers of the Established Church, nor, though dissatisfied, were they separated from it. The chief of them were too considerate to have been led into the extravagances which marked the later career of their associates left in England. In an address to their fellow-Christians in that country, dated on board the Arbella, at Yarmouth, April 7th, 1630, they say, "Wee are not of those that dreame of perfection in this world ;

maintained the dignity of a governor with the obliging condescension of a gentleman, and was so deservedly respected and beloved, that when Archbishop Laud, hearkening to some calumnies raised against the country on account of their Puritan principles, summoned one Mr. Cleaves before King Charles I., in hopes of getting some accusation against the governor, he gave such an account of his laudable deportment in his station, and, withal, of the devotion with which prayers were

yet wee desire you would take notice of the principals and body of our company, as those who esteem it an honor to call the Church of England, from whence we rise, our deare Mother . . . as members of the same body, (we) shall always rejoyce in her good, and unfainedly grieve for any sorrow that shall ever betide her." This letter is signed by Winthrop, Dudley, Phillips, and others.

Many of them probably looked with favour on the model of Geneva. They found Endecott in full sympathy and communion with the Separatists of Plymouth. And it was not difficult to pass from a dislike of the rites to a throwing off the authority of the Church of England. The form of church government and discipline they adopted here was thus favoured by their prepossessions, while it was in part, perhaps, forced upon them by their peculiar circumstances. It was totally unlike that of England, and, apart from a temporary and imperfect connexion with the civil power, was a pure specimen of the independence of congregations. Each church was held competent to settle its own affairs; and though for a while the General Court would sometimes interfere, they held fast, practically, to the faith that they had no master but Christ alone.—H.]

made, both in private and public, for the king, that Charles expressed his concern that so worthy a person as Mr. Winthrop should be no better accommodated than in an American wilderness.*

He was an example to the people of that frugality, decency, and temperance which were necessary in their circumstances, and even denied himself many of the elegances

* [As a specimen of the manner in which the chief magistrate of Massachusetts was sometimes "accommodated," take the following, under date 1631, from his Journal, i., 62: "The governor, being at his farmhouse at Mistick (Medford), walked out after supper, and took a piece in his hand, supposing he might see a wolf (for they came daily about the house, and killed swine, calves, &c.) ; and, being about half a mile off, it grew suddenly dark, so as, in coming home, he mistook his path, and went till he came to a little house of Sagamore John, which stood empty : there he stayed, and, having a match in his pocket (for he always carried about his match and compass), he made a good fire and warmed the house, and lay down upon some old mats he found there, and so spent the night, sometimes walking by the fire, sometimes singing Psalms, and sometimes getting wood, but could not sleep. It was a warm night ; but a little before day it began to rain, and, having no cloak, he made shift by a long pole to climb up into the house. In the morning there came thither an Indian squaw ; but, perceiving her before she had opened the door, he barred her out ; yet she stayed there a great while essaying to get in, and at last she went away, and he returned safe home, his servant having been much perplexed for him, and having walked about, and shot off pieces, and halloed in the night but he heard them not."—H.]

and superfluities of life, which his rank and fortune gave him a just title to enjoy, both that he might set them a proper example,* and be the better enabled to exercise that liberality in which he delighted, even, in the end, to the actual impoverishment of himself and his family. He would often send his servants on some errand, at mealtimes, to the houses of his neighbours, to see how they were provided with food ; and if there was a deficiency, would supply them from his own table. The following singular instance of his charity, mixed with humour, will give us an idea of the man. In a very severe winter, when wood began to be scarce in Boston, he received private information that a neighbour was wont to help himself from the pile at his door. “ Does he ?” said the governor ; “ call him to me, and I will take a course with him that shall cure him of stealing.” The man appeared, and the governor addressed him

* [A notable instance is found in the following record, *Journal*, i., 37 : “ The governor, upon consideration of the inconveniences which had grown in England by drinking one to another, restrained it at his own table, and wished others to do the like, so as it grew, by little and little, to disuse.” The governor’s example in this particular was made a law, by order of the General Court, in 1639, for obvious reasons, which he recorded, and perhaps suggested.—*Sec his Journal*, i., 324.—H.]

thus : " Friend, it is a cold winter, and I hear you are meanly provided with wood ; you are welcome to help yourself at my pile till the winter is over ;" and then merrily asked his friend whether he had not put a stop to the man's stealing.

In the administration of justice, he was for tempering the severity of law with the exercise of mercy. He judged that in the infancy of a plantation, justice should be administered with more lenity than in a settled state.* But when other gentlemen of learning and influence had taken offence at his lenity, and adopted an opinion that a stricter discipline was necessary, he submitted to their judgment, and strictly adhered to the proposals which were made to support the dignity of government, by an appearance of union and firmness, and a concealment of differences and dissensions among the public officers.

* [He gave a plausible reason for it : " Because people were then more apt to transgress, partly of ignorance of new laws, and partly through oppression of business and other straits." Being gently reproved by his brother magistrates for this practice and opinion, " the ministers were desired to set down a rule in the case," and decided against him ; " Whereupon Mr. Winthrop acknowledged that he had failed in over-much lenity and remissness, and would endeavour (by God's assistance) to be more strict hereafter."—Journ., i., 178.—H.]

His delicacy was so great, that though he could not, without incivility, decline accepting gratuities from divers towns, as well as particular persons, for his public services, yet he took occasion, in a public speech at his third election, to declare that "he received them with a trembling hand in regard of GOD'S word and his own infirmity," and desired them that for the future they would not be offended if he should wholly refuse such presents.*

In the year 1634 and the two years following he was left out of the magistracy.† Though his conduct, from his first engaging in the service of the colony, had been irreproachable, yet the envy of some raised a suspicion of his fidelity, and gave him a small taste of what, in other popular governments, their greatest benefactors have had a large share of. An inquiry having been made of his receipts and disbursements of the public money during his past administration, though it was conducted in a manner too harsh for

* [Yet "he never had any allowance towards the charge of his place."—*Journal*, i., 77. This was in 1632.—H.]

† [In 1634, Thomas Dudley was chosen governor (*Journal*, i., 132); in 1635, John Haynes (*Ib.*, 158); and in 1636, Henry Vane.—*Ib.*, 187 —H.]

his delicate sensibility, yet he patiently submitted to the examination of his accounts, which ended to his honour. Upon which occasion he made a declaration, which he concluded in these words: "In the things which I offer, I refer myself to the wisdom and justice of the court, with this protestation, that it repenteth me not of my cost and labour bestowed in the service of this commonwealth; but I do heartily bless the Lord our God, that he hath been pleased to honour me so far as to call for anything he hath bestowed upon me, for the service of his Church and people here; the prosperity whereof, and his gracious acceptance, shall be an abundant recompense to me."*

The same rare humility and steady equality of mind were conspicuous in his behaviour when a pretence was raised to get him left out of the government, lest, by the too frequent choice of one man, the office should cease to be elective, and seem to be his by prescription. This pretence was advanced

* [In a spirit of innocence and in the pride of just self-respect, he concludes with one request, that "as it stands upon record that upon the discharge of my office I was called to account, so this my declaration may be recorded also, lest hereafter, when I shall be forgotten, some blemish may be upon my posterity when there be none to clear it."—H.]

even in the election sermons;* and when he

* [It were curious to ascertain, if it were possible, how far this jealousy influenced the elections. It was clearly not the only reason why Winthrop was left out of the chief magistracy. Dudley, from his age and public services, was well entitled to the place. The wealth and high character of Haynes gave him ample claim to the honour; and the staid Puritanism and noble birth of Vane may well account for his elevation. The "election sermon" for 1634 was preached by Mr. Cotton, who, with evident allusion to the jealousy referred to, "delivered the doctrine that a magistrate ought not to be turned into the condition of a private man without just cause, no more than the magistrate may not turn a private man out of his freehold, &c., without like public trial, &c." The first direct notice that Winthrop takes of such a pretence is in 1639 (*Journal*, i., 299), when he says an opposition to his re-election was made by some, "out of their fear lest it might make way for having a governor for life, which some had propounded as most agreeable to God's institution and the practice of all well-ordered states." In 1640 this feeling had gained strength, and "the elders" waited on Governor Winthrop, and, with every expression of confidence and affection, frankly told him of their wish for a change, "lest the long continuance of one man in the place should bring it to be for life, and in time hereditary."—*Ib.*, ii., 1. Dudley was chosen in his place; and, to testify their undiminished esteem for him, the court gave Winthrop 3000 acres of land, and the towns raised £500 to relieve some embarrassments of his private affairs, which he had neglected for his public duties. The next step in sentiment on this subject was still more radical. In 1641, Nathaniel Ward, formerly pastor of Ipswich, in his election sermon, "advised the people to keep all their magistrates in an equal rank, and not give more honour or power to one than another. Which," adds Winthrop (ii., 36), "is easier to advise than to prove." In 1643, Ezekiel Rogers, of Rowley, preached the election sermon, and "dissuaded them earnestly from choos-

was in fact reduced to a lower station in the government, he endeavoured to serve the people as faithfully as in the highest; nor would he suffer any notice to be taken of some undue methods which were used to have him left out of the choice.* An instance of this rare temper, and the happy fruit of it, deserve remembrance. There was a time when he received a very angry letter from a Member of the Court,† which having read, he delivered back to the messenger with this answer: "I am not willing to keep by me such a matter of provocation." Shortly after, the writer of this letter was compelled, by the scarcity of provision, to send to buy one of the governor's cattle; he begged him to

ing the same man twice together."—*Ib.*, ii., 99. Yet, with all these expressions of popular feeling against him, Winthrop was afterward regularly elected, except in 1644, when Endecott, and in 1645, when Dudley was chosen; and in these years he was chosen deputy.—*H.*]

* [The "undue methods" must refer to the election of Beltingham in 1641. He had six more votes than the other candidates, "but some votes were refused by the magistrates because they had not given them in at the doors. But others," says Winthrop (ii., 35), referring probably to his own claims, "thought it was an injury, yet were silent, because it concerned themselves."—*H.*]

† [The "Member of the Court" was the choleric deputy, Thomas Dudley.—*Journal*, i., 118.—*H.*]

accept it as a gift, in token of his good-will. On which the gentleman came to him with this acknowledgment: "Sir, your overcoming yourself hath overcome me."

But, though condescending and gentle on every occasion of personal ill treatment, yet, where the honour of government or religion, and the interest of the people, were concerned, he was equally firm and intrepid, standing foremost in opposition to those whom he judged to be really public enemies, though in the disguise of warm and zealous friends. Of this number was the famous ANNA HUTCHINSON, a woman of masculine understanding and consummate art, who held private lectures to the women at her house, in which she advanced these doctrines, viz.: "that the Holy Ghost dwells *personally* in a justified person, and that sanctification does not evidence justification." Those who held with her were said to be "under a covenant of grace," and those who opposed her "under a covenant of works." Into these two denominations the whole colony began to be divided. Her adherents prevailed in 1636 to choose for governor HENRY VANE,* a young

* This person, so well known afterward in England, is thus characterized by Lord Clarendon :

gentleman of an apparently grave and serious deportment, who had just arrived from England, and who paid great attention to this woman, and seemed zealously attached to her distinguishing tenets. Winthrop, then deputy-governor, not only differed in sentiment, but saw the pernicious influence of this controversy with regret, and feared that, if it were suffered to prevail, it would endanger the existence of the colony. In the heat of the controversy, Whelewright, a zealous sectarian, preached a sermon, which not only carried these points to their utmost length, but contained some expressions which the court laid hold of as tending to sedition, for which he was examined; but a more full inquiry was deferred for that time. Some warm brethren

“A man of great natural parts and of very profound dissimulation, of a quick conception, and ready, sharp, and weighty expression. He had an unusual aspect, a *vultum clausum*, that, though no man could make a guess of what he intended, yet made men think there was something in him extraordinary, and his whole life made good that imagination. There need no more be said of his ability than that he was chosen to cozen and deceive a whole nation [the Scots] which was thought to excel in craft and cunning, which he did with a notable pregnancy and dexterity.”*

* [For a full account of Vane, Wheelwright, and Mrs. Hutchinson, the reader may consult Sparks's American Biography, vol. 73 of Harper's School District Library.—H.]

of Boston petitioned the court in Wheelwright's favour, reflecting on their proceedings, which raised such a resentment in the court against the town, that a motion was made for the next election to be made at Cambridge. Vane, the governor, having no negative voice, could only show his dislike by refusing to put the question. Winthrop, the deputy-governor, declined it, as being an inhabitant of Boston; the question was then put by Endicott of Salem,* and carried for the removal.

* [John Endecott was at this time one of the assistants. So remarkable a man, and so largely connected with the early history of Massachusetts, deserves a better memorial than the limits of a note allow. He was born at Dorchester, England, in 1589, and was chosen by the Massachusetts Company to superintend their first plantation at Salem, where he arrived September 6, 1628. His commission was superseded by the arrival of Winthrop, but he was continued in the magistracy. He was repeatedly chosen deputy-governor, and in 1645 major-general of the colony. He was elected governor in 1644, again, on the death of Winthrop in 1649, he was chosen to succeed him, and re-elected in 1651, '2, '3. In 1655 he was chosen again, and by successive elections was continued in office till his death, March 15, 1665. He resided chiefly at Salem.

Governor Endecott was undoubtedly the finest specimen to be found among our governors of the genuine Puritan character. He was of a quick temper, which the habit of military command had not softened; of strong religious feelings, moulded on the sterner features of Calvinism; resolute to uphold with the sword what he had received as Gospel truth, and fearing no en-

At the opening of the election (May 17, 1637) a petition was again presented by many inhabitants of Boston, which Vane would have had read previous to the choice. Winthrop, who clearly saw that this was a contrivance to throw all into confusion, and spend the day in debate, that the election might be prevented for that time, opposed the reading of the petition until the election should be over. Vane and his party were strenuous, but Winthrop called to the people to divide, and the majority appeared for the election. Vane still refused, till Winthrop said they would proceed without him, which obliged him to submit. The election was carried in favour of Winthrop and his friends. The sergeants who had waited on Vane to the place of election threw down their halberds, and refused to attend the newly-elected gov-

erny so much as a gainsaying spirit. Cordially disliking the English Church, he banished the Browns and the Prayer-book; and, averse to all ceremonies and symbols, the cross in the king's colours was an abomination he could not away with. He cut down the Maypole at Merry Mount, published his detestation of long hair in a formal proclamation, and set in the pillory and on the gallows the returning Quakers. Inferior to Winthrop in learning, in comprehensiveness to Vane, in tolerance even to Dudley, he excelled them all in the eye keen to discern the fit moment for action, in the quick resolve to profit by it, and in the hand always ready to strike.—H.]

error : he took no other notice of the affront than to order his own servants to bear them before him ; and when the people expressed their resentment, he begged them to overlook the matter.

The town of Boston being generally in favour of the new opinions, the governor grew unpopular there, and a law which was passed in this year of his restoration to office increased their dislike. Many persons who were supposed to favour those opinions were expected from England, to prevent whose settlement in the country the court laid a penalty on all who should entertain any strangers, or allow them the use of any house or lot above three weeks, without liberty first granted. This severe order was so ill received in Boston, that, on the governor's return from the court at Cambridge, they all refused to go out to meet him, or show him any token of respect. The other towns on this occasion increased their respect towards him, and the same summer, in a journey to Ipswich, he was guarded from town to town with more ceremony than he desired.

The same year a synod* was called to de-

* [As a preparation for this synod a fast was observed, September 24, in all the churches. Winthrop, under date October

termine on the controverted points, in which assembly Winthrop, though he did not preside, yet, as head of the civil magistracy, was obliged often to interpose his authority, which he did with wisdom and gravity, silencing passionate and impertinent speakers, desiring that the Divine Oracles might be allowed to express their own meaning, and be appealed to for a decision of the controversy; and when he saw heat and passion prevail in the assembly, he would adjourn it, that time might be allowed for cool consideration, by which prudent management the synod came

30, 1637 (Journal, i., 237), gives the following account of the proceedings of this assembly: "The synod, called the Assembly, began at Newtown (now Cambridge). There were all the teaching elders through the country, and some new come out of England, not yet called to any place here, as Mr. Davenport, &c. The Assembly began with prayer by Mr. Shepherd, pastor of Newtown. Then the erroneous opinions which were spread in the country were read (being eighty in all) [a rank growth for seven years]: next, the unwholesome expressions [nine in number]: then the Scriptures abused. Then they chose two moderators for the next day, viz., Mr. Buckley and Mr. Hooker, and these were continued in that place all the time of the Assembly. There were about eighty opinions, some blasphemous, others erroneous, and all unsafe, which were condemned by the whole Assembly." Any one who wishes more particular information touching the points our fathers deemed heretical, will find ample satisfaction in a contemporary work by Thomas Welde, entitled "The Rise, Reign, and Ruin of Antinomianism in New-England."—H.]

to an amicable agreement in condemning the errors of the day.* But the work was not wholly done until the erroneous persons were banished the colony. This act of severity the court thought necessary for the peace of the commonwealth.† Toleration had not

* [The extent of Winthrop's agency in maintaining order in the synod may have been too strongly stated in the text, though the facts are hardly more creditable to that body. His own account (*Journal*, i., 238-240) is, that there was a clamorous and continued call for witnesses to the prevalence of the opinions under discussion, which the moderators found it difficult to check; and when some of the magistrates told the callers that "it would prove a civil disturbance" demanding their interference, they denied the magistrate's authority in such cases, "so as he was forced to tell one of them, that if he would not forbear, but make trial of it, he might see it executed." The synod "broke up" October 22d, matters having been concluded "comfortably in all love."—H.]

† [The decrees of the synod, however harmonious, could not silence the disaffected, nor its arguments convert the heretical. Wheelwright still published his "confuted" opinions, and Mrs. Hutchinson still proclaimed her censures and "vented her revelations." The General Court interposed; and, "finding that two so opposite parties could not contain in the same body without apparent hazard of ruin to the whole" (*Winthrop's Journal*, i., 245), "disfranchised and banished Wheelwright, and banished Mrs. Hutchinson, and ordered many others who had petitioned in their favour to be disarmed." It will be seen by the above extract from Winthrop, that the banishment was inflicted not so much as a punishment of heresy as to preserve the peace of the state. It is due to the fathers of New-England, who have suffered deeply under charges of intolerance and persecution, and have deserved it somewhat, to say, that if an examination be made of the al-

then been introduced into any of the Protestant countries, and even the wisest and best men were afraid of it as the parent of all error and mischief.

Some of the zealous opinionists in the Church of Boston would have had the elders proceed against the governor in the way of ecclesiastical discipline for his activity in procuring the sentence of banishment on their brethren. Upon this occasion, in a well-judged speech* to the congregation, he told them that, "though in his private capacity it was his duty to submit to the censure of his brethren, yet he was not amenable to them for his conduct as a magistrate, even though it were unjust. That in the present case he had acted according to his conscience and his oath, and *by the advice of the elders of the Church*, and was fully satisfied that it

leged cases of wrong doing in this respect, a regard, and a fear, and commonly a well-grounded fear, for the quiet of the commonwealth, lay at the basis of all their public political action in matters properly of faith and conscience. The novel doctrines and eloquent enthusiasm of Mrs. Hutchinson had carried contentions and heartburnings into families and among friends, strife into the state, and war into the Church. However harsh the result may seem, it was clearly better that some should be separated than that all should fight.—H.]

* [This speech was delivered to excuse himself, and "to prevent such a public disorder" as his enemies proposed in his trial.—Journ., i., 249.—H.]

would not have been consistent with the public peace to have done otherwise." These reasons satisfied the uneasy brethren; and his general condescending and obliging deportment so restored him to their affections, that he was held in greater esteem than before; as a proof of this, upon occasion of a loss which he had sustained in his temporal estate, they made him a present amounting to several hundred pounds.*

A warm dispute having arisen in the General Court concerning the negative voice of the Upper House,† the governor published

* [This was several years after. See note to p. 162 of this volume.—H.]

† [The first case in which the question of the negative voice of the Assistants, or Upper House, arose, was (September, 1634) on a petition of the men of Newtown for leave to settle on the Connecticut River, out of the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. A majority of the deputies were in favour of granting the request, and a majority of the assistants were for refusing it. The deputies, being a majority of the whole Legislature, claimed that a majority of the whole should decide. The assistants, fearing for their separate existence, claimed the right of a negative on the vote of the deputies. After many days of debate, neither party would yield, till "a day of humiliation in all the congregations," and a judicious sermon from Mr. Cotton, caused the question, for the present, to be passed silently in favour of the assistants.—Winthrop's Journal, i., 140-142. In 1643 "the sow case" started it again, and it was put to rest in the same way.—Ib., ii., 118, 119. The next year it was finally decided by an order that the two bodies should consult separately.—Ib., ii., 160

his sentiments in writing, some passages of which giving great offence, he took occasion at the next meeting of the court, in a public speech, to tell them "that, as to the *matter* of his writing, it was according to his judgment, which was not at his own disposal, and that, having examined it by the rules of reason, religion, and custom, he saw no cause to retract it; but as for the *manner*, which was wholly his own, he was ready to acknowledge whatever was blameable. He said that, though what he wrote was on great provocation, and to vindicate himself and others from unjust aspersion, yet he ought not to have allowed a distemper of spirit, nor to have been so free with the reputation of his brethren; that he might have maintained his cause with-

During this controversy (1643) Winthrop wrote a tract on the subject, which is preserved, in manuscript, in the library of the Mass. Hist. Society. Rev. Mr. Cobbet, of Lynn, wrote on the same subject. It was the paper "set forth about the sow business" that gave rise to the speech referred to in the text.—Ib., ii., 117. This case, a lawsuit between a poor woman and a rich merchant, in which the question was turned on the identity of a sow, to which no witness could swear positively, and about which no jury could agree, embroiled the whole colony many months, and caused almost as much heartburning and alienation as the fiercest religious controversy. One who is curious to see "how great a fire a little spark kindleth," may consult, for the details of this strange case, Winthrop, ii., 67-72, and 115-119.

—H.]

out casting any reflection on them, and that he perceived an unbecoming pride and arrogance in some of his expressions, for which he desired forgiveness of God and man!" By this condescending spirit he greatly endeared himself to his friends, and his enemies were ashamed of their opposition.

He had not so high an opinion of a *democratical* government as some other gentlemen of equal wisdom and goodness,* but plainly

* [The sober judgment of Winthrop clearly saw the need of a well-regulated authority in the state. He seems to have approved the plan of a council for life, selected from the magistrates, as he was one of the members. This council was instituted in 1636.—Winthrop's Journal, i., 184. In 1641, Mr. Saltonstall, a magistrate from Salem, wrote a book to prove it "a sinful innovation" (Ib., ii., 64), which was referred to the elders for their judgment.—Ib., ii., 89.

Winthrop was not alone in his aversion to a pure democracy. Cotton said (Letter to Lord Say, Hutch. Mass., i., App., 433-436), "Democracy I do not conceive that ever God did ordain as a fit government either for church or commonwealth. If the people be governors, who shall be governed?" By the charter the powers of government were committed to the governor and thirteen assistants. The whole body of the freemen met to elect the magistrates and to enact laws. Representatives, or deputies, as they were called, do not appear till 1634, when three were chosen for each town, and in later years two.—Winthrop's Journal, i., 128, 300. They formed one body with the magistrates till 1644.—Ib., ii., 160. During this interval there were continual disputes between them touching their mutual rights. The magistrates, i e., the governor and assistants, exercised all judicial power, and held regular sessions for this pur-

perceived a danger in "referring matters of counsel and judicature to the body of the people;" and when those who had removed to Connecticut were about forming their government, he warned them of this danger in a friendly and faithful letter, wherein are these remarkable words: "The best part of a community is always the *least*, and of that best part the wiser is always the lesser; wherefore the old law was, choose ye out judges, &c., and thou shalt bring the matter to the judge."

In 1645, when he was deputy-governor, a great disturbance was raised by some petitioners from Hingham,* who complained that pose; they also exercised all the ordinary powers of government during the recess of the General Court. The governor was the presiding officer of this body, and intrusted with the special execution of their orders.

The letter referred to was to the excellent Hooker, September, 1638.—Journal, ii., 349, 350.

The governor was chosen by the assistants till 1632, May 8, and afterward by the General Court, and from 1634 by the whole body of the freemen.—H.]

* [In this paragraph the author seems to have confounded two cases which were entirely distinct. The first occurred in 1645, when Winthrop was deputy-governor, and was briefly this: A disagreement had fallen out in a military company at Hingham, touching an election of officers, which led to some mutinous and disorderly practices there; and the offenders being required to find bail for their appearance at court, Winthrop, as a magistrate, on the refusal of some of them, ordered them to be committed. As there existed at that time great jealousy of the au-

the fundamental laws of England were not owned in the colony as the basis of govern-

thority of the magistrates, and as this business excited much feeling in Hingham, a petition, numerously signed, was presented to the deputies, asking that the case might be examined by the General Court. Winthrop was put on trial, and, after a prolonged examination of six weeks, was fully acquitted, and the mutineers and petitioners were fined in various sums, from £1 to £20, for the costs of the court. It was on this occasion that Winthrop delivered the speech, of which portions are given in the text.—*Journal*, ii., 221–235. *Hubbard's New-England*, 417, 418. *2d Mass. Hist. Coll.*, iv., 108–110.

The petition described in the text, and which makes a part of the second case, was presented in 1646, when Winthrop was governor.—*Hutch. Coll.*, 188, 261, 278, &c. From the foundation of the colony, all persons residing within its limits, who were not church members, were subject to several important disabilities. They were excluded from all the offices and honours of the state; they were not allowed to vote in elections or on laws, even for town-laws and officers, saving only those of military companies. They were, moreover, we can hardly doubt, looked upon by the church members, not only with pity as lost men, but with somewhat of indignation as rebels against the Divine law, and treated sometimes with the indifference or disregard which is often all that the more privileged bestow upon the less. Among those who were not members of a church, and so but half members of the state, there were not a few persons eminent for learning and talent, on whom these disabilities bore grievously. Hence arose, and gradually increased, a dislike of the government, and a purpose to get rid of the odious restrictions, which at length gave rise to the petition referred to. William Vassal, of Scituate, a man of learning, wit, and address, was one of the leading fomenters of this movement; and Dr. Robert Child, of Hingham, whom Winthrop calls “a gentleman and a scholar,” ably seconded his efforts. The court

ment; that civil privileges were denied to men merely for not being members of the churches; and that they could not enjoy Divine ordinances, because they belonged to the Church of England. With these complaints they petitioned for liberty of conscience; or, if that could not be granted, for freedom from taxes and military services: the petition concluded with a menace that, in case of a refusal, complaint would be made to the Parliament of England. This petition gave much offence, and the petitioners were cited to court, and fined as “movers of sedition.” Winthrop was active in their prosecution, but a party in the House of Deputies was so strong in their favour as to carry a vote requiring him to answer for his conduct in public. The court refused to entertain the petition, and an appeal was claimed to the commissioners in Parliament. Some of the petitioners were stopped on the eve of their sailing for England, and held to bail. On their examination they justified their petition, and were fined in various sums from £4 to £50. Persisting in their opposition, and while preparing to prosecute their appeal, Child and others were arrested and imprisoned. He afterward went to England, where Vassal was already, and attempted to excite an odium against the colony, but was successfully resisted by Edward Winslow, their agent. So far was Winthrop from being called to trial, and censured for the part he took in this affair, that the sympathies of the people were strongly with him, and he was re-elected the next year by a majority of several hundred votes.—Journal, ii., 307.—H.]

lic, the result of which was that he was honourably acquitted. Then resuming his seat, he took that opportunity publicly to declare his sentiments on the questions concerning the authority of the magistracy and the liberty of the people: "*You have called us,*" said he, "*to office; but, being called, we have our authority from GOD; it is the ordinance of GOD, and hath the image of GOD stamped on it; and the contempt of it hath been vindicated by GOD with terrible examples of his vengeance. When you choose magistrates you take them from among yourselves, men subject to the like passions with yourselves. If you see our infirmities, reflect on your own, and you will not be so severe on ours. The covenant between us and you is, that we shall govern you, and judge your causes according to the laws of GOD**† and

* It must be observed that the Mosaic law was at that time considered as the general standard, and most of the laws of the colony were founded on it.

† [Winthrop himself says, "*the rules of God's laws and our own.*"—*Journal*, ii., 229. The Mosaic law, or the examples of the Old Testament, was in some sense the basis of the early legislation of Massachusetts, yet rather as furnishing principles and arguments than specific forms. The colony had already a definite code of laws. Rev. John Cotton, of Boston, and Nathaniel Ward, of Ipswich, had been made a commission for the purpose of compiling a code, and each presented a model to the

our best skill. As for our *skill*, you must run the hazard of it; and if there be an error, not in the will, but the skill, it becomes you to bear it. Nor would I have you mistake in the point of your liberty. There is a liberty of corrupt nature, which is inconsistent with authority, impatient of restraint, the grand enemy of truth and peace, and all the ordinances of GOD are bent against it. But there is a civil, moral, federal liberty, which is the proper end and object of authority, a liberty for that only which is JUST and GOOD. For this liberty you are to stand with your lives; and whatever crosses it is not authority, but a distemper thereof. This liberty is maintained in a way of subjection to authority, and the authority set over you will, in all administrations for your good, be quietly submitted to by all but such as have a disposition to shake off the yoke, and lose their liberty by murmuring at the honour and power of authority."

This kind of argument was frequently urged in 1639. These were digested by the court into one, which was sent to the towns for their consideration. In 1641 the court adopted and enacted for three years a system of one hundred laws, called the "body of liberties."—Journal, i., 322; ii., 55. Winthrop intimates that they followed the scheme offered by Mr. Ward.—H.]

ged by the fathers of New-England in justification of their severity towards those who dissented from them. They maintained that all men had liberty to do *right*, but no liberty to do *wrong*. However true this principle may be in point of morality, yet in matters of opinion, in modes of faith, worship, and ecclesiastical order, the question is, who shall be the judge of right and wrong? and it is too evident, from their conduct, that they supposed the power of judging to be in those who were vested with authority; a principle destructive of liberty of conscience and the right of private judgment, and big with all the horrors of persecution. The exercise of such authority they condemned in the High-Church party, who had oppressed them in England; and yet, such is the frailty of human nature, they held the same principles and practised the same oppressions on those who dissented from them. Winthrop, before he left England, was of a more catholic spirit than some of his brethren; after he had come to America he fell in with the reigning principle of intolerancy, which almost all the *Reformers* unhappily retained as a relic of the persecuting Church from which they had separated; but as he advanced in life he re-

sumed his former moderation; and in the time of his last sickness, when Dudley, the deputy-governor, pressed him to sign an order for the banishment of a person who was deemed heterodox, he refused, saying that "he had done *too much* of that work already."

Having devoted the greatest part of his interest to the service of the public, and suffered many losses by accidents, and by leaving the management of his private affairs to unfaithful servants, while his whole time and attention were employed in the public business, his fortune was so much impaired, that, some years before his death, he was obliged to sell the most of his estate for the payment of an accumulated debt.* He also met with

* [Not only his time, but much of his estate also, was given to the public. In 1632 he tells us, "For want of a common stock, he had to disburse all common charges out of his estate" (i., 86). In 1633 the court ordered to be paid him £150 salary for the year, and the money he had paid from his own purse in the public service, being between £200 and £300 more.—Journal, i., 105. He informs us that when in office his expenses hardly fell short of £500 a year, £200 of which would have supported his family in a private condition. In 1640 his estate had become so reduced, partly by the misconduct of his steward, who had contracted large obligations (£2500) for him without his knowledge, that several hundred pounds (less than 500) were given him by voluntary contribution in the colony; and the court, the treasury being, as it often was, empty, granted to his wife 3000 acres of land: a strong proof of the high esteem in

much affliction in his family, having buried three wives* and six children. These troubles, joined to the opposition and ill treatment which he frequently met with from some of the people, so preyed upon his nature, already much worn by the toils and hardships of planting a colony in a wilderness, that he perceived a decay of his faculties seven years before he reached his grand climacteric, and often spoke of his approaching dissolution with a calm resignation to the will of Heaven. At length, when he had entered the sixty-third year of his age,† a fever occasioned by a cold, after one month's confinement,

which he was held, as well as of sympathy for his misfortunes.—*Journal*, ii., 1, 2. In his will, made June, 1641 (afterward revoked), he mentions that he owned a farm at Medford, then as now called "the Tenhills," an island called still Governor's in Boston Harbour, Prudence Island in Narraganset Bay, a lot at Concord, and another of 1200 acres on the Concord River, and 2000 acres still due him from the country.—*Ib.*, 360.—*H.*]

* [His first wife was Mary, daughter of John Forth, Esq., of Great Stanbridge, Essex, whom he married in his eighteenth year, Feb., 1606.—*Savage's* note to Winthrop, i., 64. The third was Margaret, daughter of Sir John Tindal, "a woman of singular virtue, prudence, modesty, and piety," whom he married April 24, 1618, and who died June 4, 1647. The fourth, who survived him, was Mrs. Martha Cotyemore, of Charlestown, whom he married December, 1647.—*H.*]

† [In the sixty-second year of his age.—See note to page 148, l. 15.

put an end to his life on the 26th of March, 1649.*

The island called Governor's Island, in the harbour of Boston, was granted to him, and still remains in the possession of his descendants. His picture is preserved in the Senate Chamber with those of other ancient governors. The house in which he lived remained till 1775, when, with many other old wooden buildings, it was pulled down by the British troops for fuel. He kept an exact journal of the occurrences and transactions in the colony during his residence in it.† This journal was of great service to several historians, particularly Hubbard, Mather, and Prince. It is still in possession of the Connecticut branch of his family, and was published at Hartford in 1790. It affords a more exact

* [He was buried in the Chapel burying-ground in Boston, where his monument may yet be seen.—H.]

† [This journal was begun on Easter Monday, March 29, 1630, on board the Arbella, before Winthrop and his company sailed from the Isle of Wight, and was continued till February, 1649. It is a record, made from day to day, as they occurred, of the various events which occurred in the colony during the period which it embraces, and made with rare impartiality and judgment. Another edition of it has been published by Hon. James Savage, who thoroughly revised the text, and added a large body of illustrative notes, which are unrivalled for accuracy, sagacity, and learning.—H.]

and circumstantial detail of events within that period than any compilation which has been or can be made from it; the principles and conduct of this truly great and good man therein appear in the light in which he himself viewed them; while his abilities for the arduous station which he held, the difficulties which he had to encounter, and his fidelity in business, are displayed with that truth and justice in which they ought to appear.

He had five sons living at his decease, all of whom, notwithstanding the reduction of his fortune, acquired and possessed large property, and were persons of eminence. Many of his posterity have borne respectable characters, and filled some of the principal places of trust and usefulness.*

* [The high reputation of Governor Winthrop has been well sustained by the succeeding generations of his family. While I am writing these pages, death has called away one of them, long known and revered among us, Hon. Thomas Winthrop, for many years Lieutenant-governor of Massachusetts, and president of the Massachusetts Historical Society. His son, Hon. R. C. Winthrop, is now the able representative of Suffolk district in Congress.—H.]

XXV. JOHN WINTHROP, F.R.S.,

GOVERNOR OF CONNECTICUT.

JOHN WINTHROP, eldest son of Governor Winthrop by his first wife, was born at Groton, in Suffolk, Feb. 12, 1605.* His fine genius was much improved by a liberal education in the universities of Cambridge and Dublin,† and by travelling through most of the European kingdoms as far as Turkey.‡

* [Feb. 12, 1605-6.—Savage's note to Winthrop, i., 64.—H.]

† [His father's letters, yet preserved, were addressed to him at Trinity College, Dublin, from August, 1622, to March, 1624.—Journal, ii., 336-345. From these letters it appears that his college life was prudent, frugal, and studious, and that here he received and cherished "the seeds of the fear of God."—H.]

‡ [From Dublin he returned to London, where he manifested a strong passion for travelling, and especially for going to sea. In June, 1627, we find him "attending upon Captain Best in his majesty's ship the *Dire Repulse*," but in what capacity does not appear. He probably sailed in the convoy of the Duke of Buckingham.—Journal, ii., 347, 348. In 1628, his adventurous temper yet unsatisfied, he was earnestly disposed to "settle with a plantation," which we presume to have been that of Plymouth or of Massachusetts, but was dissuaded by his father.—Ib., ii., 352. We have (Ib., 354) the draught of a letter from him "to Sir Peter Wich, lord ambassador at Constantinople," dated at "the Castles of Hellespont," in which he states that he was to sail

He came to New-England with his father's family, Nov. 4, 1631 ; and, though not above twenty-six years of age, was, by the unanimous choice of the freemen, appointed a magistrate* of the colony, of which his father was governor. He rendered many services to the country, both at home† and abroad, particularly in the year 1634, when, returning to England, he was, by stress of weather, forced into Ireland, where, meeting with many influential persons at the house of Sir John Closworthy, he had an opportunity to pro-

that day for Venice. "The writer," says Savage, in his note upon the letter, "had no doubt accompanied this very celebrated minister either as secretary of legation or as private secretary, probably the latter." The letter expresses thanks for favours received, and implies intimacy.

The experience of life acquired in these travels, united with the piety of his own temper, led him to say, in a letter to his father, August 16, 1629, touching the planting of New-England, "And for myself, I have seen so much of the vanity of the world, that I esteem no more of the diversities of countries than as so many inns, whereof the traveller, that hath lodged in the best or in the worst, findeth no difference when he cometh to his journey's end ; and I shall call that my country where I can most glorify God, and enjoy the presence of my dearest friends."—*Ib.*, i., 359.—*H.*]

* [He was elected to the magistracy May 8th, 1632.—*Winthrop's Journal*, i., 76.—*H.*]

† [In March, 1633, he, with twelve other persons, began a settlement at Ipswich.—*Ib.*, i., 100. *Felt's History of Ipswich.*—*H.*]

mote the interest of the colony through their means.*

* [The following is Governor Winthrop's account of this interview (Journal, i., 172): "Mr. Winthrop went to Dublin, and from thence to Antrim, in the north, and came to the house of one Sir John Clotworthy, the evening before the day when divers godly persons were appointed to meet at his house to confer about their voyage to New-England; by whom they were thoroughly informed of all things, &c. . . . From thence he passed over into Scotland, and so through the north of England; and all the way he met with persons of quality, whose thoughts were towards New-England, who observed his coming among them as a special providence of God."

Sir John Clotworthy was a member of the Parliament which met November, 1640, and seconded Pym in his impeachment of the Earl of Strafford.—May's History of the Parliament of 1640, p. 48. Clarendon, in his History of the Rebellion (i., 138, fol.), calls him "a gentleman of Ireland, and utterly unknown in England;" and says that "he was, by the contrivance of some powerful patrons, returned to serve for a borough in Devonshire, that so he might be enabled to act his part against the lord-lieutenant." He must have been, therefore, a thorough Puritan and a fearless man. From his residence in Ireland, he was a very suitable witness against Strafford. We next hear of him near the scaffold at the execution of Laud, disturbing the last hours of that venerable prelate with "uncivil and unseasonable" questions "concerning his assurance of salvation, and whereon the same was grounded."—Fuller's Church History, iii., 472, Lond., 1837. In 1646 he was one of the Parliamentary commissioners for Ireland, and discharged from that office at his own request.—Whitelock's Memorials, 240, ed. 1682. He was charged with embezzlement, and, at the instance of Fairfax, his conduct was made the subject of Parliamentary inquiry. In 1648 he was committed to prison by Parliament for favouring too much the proposed addresses to the

The next year he came back to New-England, with powers from the Lords Say* and

king; though Clarendon (iii., 184, fol.) classes him with "the most active members in the House of the Presbyterian party, and who had as maliciously advanced the interests of the Parliament against the king as any men of their rank in the kingdom."—H.]

* [William Fiennes, second Baron, and first Viscount, Say and Sele, by patent from King James, July 7, 1624. The family was a very ancient one, but the title had been disused for a long time, till it was restored in the person of Richard Fiennes, the father of the subject of this note.—Burke's Peerage. William Fiennes was born at Broughton, Oxfordshire, about the year 1582; received his early education at Wykeham School, near Wynton, which had been founded by his ancestor, the celebrated William de Wykeham, and entered New College, Oxford, as a fellow-commoner, in 1596. Here he spent "some time in logicals and philosophicals," afterward travelled on the Continent, and, having returned to the possession of a "fair estate," was early married, and became a firm and avowed Puritan. Such is the testimony of Wood (*Athenæ Oxonienses*); but Miss Aikin, in her *Memoirs of James I.* (vol. ii., p. 210), speaks of him as "necessitous and haughty." He seems early to have manifested a tendency to liberal principles in politics, and, perhaps for that reason, suffered a temporary imprisonment by order of the king in 1622.—Wood. Carte (vol. iv., p. 203) says he was a nobleman "of great parts and infinite ambition." James, finding that violence could not intimidate him, may have hoped to secure the one by bribing the other with the offer of a higher title. For a while this policy may have prevented any offensive exhibition of his principles. Clarendon asserts, that for several years after 1621 he "lived narrowly in the country" (i., 162, fol.). Yet in the next reign he appears again a firm opponent of the arbitrary measures of the government, and a vehement antagonist of the prelacy. In 1637,

Brooke,* to settle a plantation on Connecticut River. But, finding that some worthy

with Hampden, and with no less boldness, he refused the payment of ship-money, and desired to have the legality of that exaction tried in his own case rather than in that of his illustrious friend.—Carte, iv., 303. In 1639 he was “deep in with the Scotch commissioners, sympathizing in their aims, and hoping for aid, to what he deemed a righteous cause, from their concurrence.”—Whitelock, 31. Wood adds, that he boldly and openly favoured thus early the Scotch Covenant. He was a member of the famous Parliament of November, 1640, and was reckoned among the foremost of the leaders who swayed that remarkable body. He was one of the lords who, in August of that year, earnestly advised Charles to summon it. The liberal leaders in the Upper House of that Parliament held frequent meetings for consultation at his house at Broughton, where he “resided for many years; and his advice passed for oracles.” Whitelock (Memorials, p. 31) says, that while the impeachment of Strafford, one of the first works of the Long Parliament, was pending, proposals were made to stop the proceedings against him, provided that Pym and others, his enemies, should come into high offices; and that Lord Say was named for the Mastership of the Court of Wards; but the king refused. This fact is not very creditable to the actors in that memorable process. The next year the king sought to win Say from his now dreaded opposition, by appointing him of the privy council, and by giving him the very lucrative office he had before refused to give, of Master of the Court of Wards, May 17th, 1641.—May, Hist. of Parl. of 1640, p. 78. Though he may have been poor, he was not to be bought. He still adhered to his principles and to his party. In August of that year he was made by Parliament lieutenant-general of Oxfordshire, and is said to have fortified his own house at Broughton for the service. Early the next year he refused to obey the royal summons, issued to all the officers

* For this note, see p. 192.

persons from the Massachusetts had already removed, and others were about removing to

of the Court of Wards, to meet Charles at Oxford, and, for his disobedience, was outlawed and attainted. In 1643 he was chosen one of the commissioners on the part of Parliament to treat with the king at Oxford, but did not serve in that office, as Charles expressly refused to treat with him.—Whitelock, p. 64. He was made, April 15, 1645, one of a committee of the lords "to manage the admiralty business."—Ib., 137. In a creation of dignities the same year by Parliament, he was advanced to an earldom (Ib., 138), though, we believe, he never used the title. In 1646 his office in the Court of Wards was abolished, and £10,000 were voted to him as a compensation for his loss. On some occasions he showed almost a personal dislike to the king, opposing in Parliament all measures tending to a compromise or reconciliation; and in 1648, when the commissioners, of whom he had been named one, met Charles in the Isle of Wight, he quoted to him, from Hooper, that the king is "*singulis major, universis minor.*" After the king's death, and the temporary overthrow of the English Church, he is said to have become an Independent in his opinions, as he had before been a Presbyterian.—Wood. Cromwell, who was no mean judge of men, required his services in his House of Lords.—Parl. Hist., iii., 1518. The Protector proposed in 1653 to make him "chamberlain of his household," which those who knew him doubted if he would accept.—Thurloe's State Papers, i., 645. Though his ambition was now gratified by the highest honours, and his darling scheme of religious liberty seemed near its consummation, his patriotism was not put to sleep. He was one of the first to discern Cromwell's aspirations for a crown, and foremost and boldest in his opposition. Finding his opposition ineffectual, he retired to the Isle of Lundy, on the coast of Devon, where he remained till Cromwell's death in 1658. After the restoration of Charles II., by what the monarchist writers of that and later times have considered a strange per

make a settlement on that river at Hartford and Weathersfield, he gave them no disturb-

version of justice, he held the office of lord privy seal till his death.—Pepys's Diary, i., 114. What may seem stranger is, that he sat as one of the judges on the trial of Adrian Scrope, one of the regicides.—Wood, ii., 542. April 14th, 1662, "he did die quietly in his bed," as loyal Anthony Wood records it, with a seeming wonder that a rebel could so die. He had lived, I cannot doubt, long enough to regret many of the excesses of which his party were guilty, and to have felt that stability and order in a state are to be preferred to any dreams of theoretical perfection.

Clarendon, while he evidently had a strong dislike of Lord Say, and charges him with avarice and ambition, gives yet an indirect testimony of great value to his abilities and worth. After having spoken of the vast influence he exercised among those who were disaffected to the king, he adds (*History of the Rebellion*, i., 145, fol.), "He had great reputation with many who were not discontented, who believed him to be a wise man, of a very useful temper in an age of license, and one who would still adhere to the law." He elsewhere says that he was "of a proud and sullen nature;" that he "conversed much with books;" and, which is a clear proof of his inflexible and conscientious clinging to his principles, that "his ambition would not be satisfied with offices and preferments, without some concessions and alterations in ecclesiastical matters."—*Ib.*, 161, 162, and 145. One who compares the testimony of Wood, of Clarendon, and the conflicting statements of contemporary writers who have spoken of him, may well conclude with Nugent that he "possessed qualities of mind and courage sufficient to make him deeply revered and violently hated."—*Memorials of Hampden*, ii., 29.

He was an eloquent speaker and an able writer. A speech of his, well worthy of perusal for its terse expression, ingenious reasoning, and manly frankness, delivered in the House of

ance, but, having made an amicable agreement with them, built a fort at the mouth of

Lords May 24th, 1641, on a bill to restrain the clergy from intermeddling in secular matters, is preserved in Cobbet's Parl. Hist., ii., 806. This bill was one of the first steps taken by the enemies of Episcopacy to root out that odious polity, and it required no slight boldness to stand forth at that time, in that place, in open opposition to it. He also wrote and published several works. Among them were, "The Scots' Design discovered," 4to, Lond., 1643; "Folly and Madness made manifest," 4to, Oxon., 1659; "The Quaker's Reply manifested to be Railing," 4to, Oxon., 1660.—See Walpole's Royal and Noble Authors, Park's edition, iii., 70; where also may be seen a portrait of Lord Say.—H.]

* [Robert Greville, second Lord Brooke, was born in 1607, and at the age of four years adopted, and afterward brought up, by his cousin Fulke Greville, chancellor of the exchequer to James I., and a famous poet, courtier, and patron of letters, under that prince and Elizabeth. Robert was educated at the University of Cambridge, in some of the halls of which Puritanism had found favour, if not a resting-place. On the decease of his cousin in 1628, he succeeded to the baronetcy, at the age of twenty-one. Entering upon public life at a period when great principles in government and religion were the common theme of warm and almost angry discussion, he seems early and always to have been liberal in his politics and a Puritan in his theology. No doubt can be entertained of the fervour of his religious feelings, and the sincerity of his religious faith, whom Baxter, in an early edition of the Saints' Rest, numbered among the dead whom he hoped to meet in Heaven (p. 101, ed. 1656).

When Charles, in 1639, to try the fidelity of his army at York, required of them the well-known "protestation against holding any correspondence with rebels," which the Scots took "without grieving their consciences or improving their manners," Lords Say and Brooke, and they only, in the king's presence, indig-

the river, and furnished it with the artillery and stores which had been sent over, and be-

nantly refused it, saying, "If the king suspected their loyalty, he might proceed against them as he thought fit; but it was against the law to impose any oaths or protestations upon them which were not enjoined by the law; and in that respect, that they might not betray the common liberty, they would not submit to it."—Clarendon, *Rebellion*, i., 93., fol. He was commander-in-chief in Warwick and Staffordshire, holding a commission from the Parliament (Walpole, ii., 344), and commanded a body of cavalry in the battle and victory at Edge Hill, October, 1642. In August of the same year, while Lord Brooke lay with his troops near Warwick, the Earl of Northampton and other lords, who commanded the royal forces, which had just come up, demanded a parley, and proposed to Lord Brooke that he should lay down his arms, a royal pardon being offered him, resign Warwick Castle into such hands as the king should appoint, disavow the ordinance of the militia, &c.; and menaced him with signal punishment if he refused. "Lord Brooke," says Nugent, to whose *Memorials of Hampden* we are indebted for this history, "was of a temper not quick to anger, and a mind deeply imbued with the stern and patient reserve, which partly the externals of their religion, and partly the pressure of political necessity, had imposed on the Puritan party. But the spirit of a gallant gentleman, in whose veins flowed the blood of many generations of proud and valiant ancestors, rose up against terms so unworthy to be proposed to him, and against the tone and bearing to the noble persons who addressed him in the confidence of fancied power. Incensed, he wheeled his horse about to leave them without reply; but, after a moment's consideration, he returned, and, fronting them as he spoke, 'My lords,' said he, 'I much wonder that men of judgment, in whose breasts true honour should hold her seat, should so much wrong their noble predecessors as to seek the ruin of those high and noble thoughts they should endeavour to support. . . . As for these

gan a town there, which, from the two lords propositions, take this in answer. When that his majesty, his posterity, and the peace of the kingdom shall be secured from you, I shall gladly lay down my arms and power. As for the castle, it was delivered to my trust by the high court of Parliament, who reserve it for the king's good use, and, I dare boldly say, will so employ it. As for the commission of array, you know it is unlawful. For the magazine of the county, it was delivered to me also by the Parliament, and, as a faithful servant to the country, I am resolved to continue it till Northampton can show me greater authority for the delivery of the same. As touching his majesty's pardon, as I am confident that I have not given any occasion of offence to his majesty, so I need not his pardon. As for your fury, I wholly disdain it.' " Whatever judgment may be formed of the truth of his political opinions, no one can question the pure, earnest, and high-minded sincerity in which he entertained them.

This estimate of his character has been almost uniformly made, even by those who in political sentiment were opposed to him. Carte, who is by no means too favourable to the Puritan leaders, gives him this character (iv., 303): This lord "had parts, learning, fluency of speech, with many good qualities, which gained him the esteem of those with whom he agreed in their Puritanical and antimonarchical principles. He was naturally warm in any cause he espoused, and, in his utter aversion to Episcopacy, embarked eagerly in the measures of the faction." Clarendon, who was also of the opposite side, says (ii., 114, fol.), "Those who were acquainted with him believed him to be well-natured and just, and rather seduced and corrupted in his understanding than perverse and malicious;" and adds, "he was undoubtedly one of those who could have been with most difficulty reconciled to the government of Church or state." A noble testimony to the honesty of his convictions and the steadfastness of his principles.

He used his pen as well as his sword in behalf of the cause to which he so cheerfully devoted himself. He published sev-

who had a principal share in the undertaking, eral answers and speeches.—Wood, Athen. Oxon., ii., 445, 446. A treatise written by him, on “The Nature of Truth,” was printed in the year of his death. Of his “Discourse opening the Nature of that Episcopacie which is exercised in England,” Milton wrote that it was “so full of meekness and breathing charity, that, next to the last testament of Him who bequeathed love and peace to his disciples, I cannot call to mind where I have met with words more mild and peaceful.”—See Walpole’s Royal and Noble Authors, ii., 90; where also may be seen a portrait of Lord Brooke.

We copy the following account of his death from Dugdale’s Short View of the late Troubles in England, 117, 118, fol., Lond., 1681: “Likewise that attempt upon Litchfield-close, in Staffordshire, made by Robert, Lord Brooke, wherein he lost his life: the manner of which was not a little remarkable, which was thus. . . . When he had marched within half a mile of Litchfield, he drew up his army, and there devoutly prayed a blessing on his intended work [the assault of the Cathedral]; withal earnestly desiring that God would by some special token manifest unto them his approbation of their design; which being done, he went on, and planted his great guns against the south-east end of the close, himself standing in a window of a little house near thereto, to direct the gunners in their purposed battery; but it so happened that, there being two persons placed in the battlements of the chiefest steeple to make shot with long fowling guns at the cannoniers, upon a sudden accident, which occasioned the soldiers to give a shout, this lord coming to the door (completely harnessed with plate-armour *cap-a-pie*), was suddenly shot into one of his eyes; but the strength of the bullet so much abated by the glancing thereof on a piece of timber, that it only lodged in his brains: whereupon he suddenly fell down dead. Nor is it less notable that this accident fell out upon the second day of March [1643], which is a festival of the some time famous Bishop of St. Chad, to whose memory, Offa, king of Mercia, first erected this stately church, and devoutly

was called Saybrook.* This fort kept the

dedicated it." To relieve his memory from a suspicion of sacrilege, we add, that the Earl of Chesterfield and his troops had taken refuge and intrenched themselves in the close (cathedral), from which, as commander of the Parliament forces, he was endeavouring to dislodge them.—Whitelock's Memorials, p. 66.

These two noble and Christian men, united by common principles and aims, and by their very diversities of character, were joined in council and action in some of the most important events of their lives. "They had from their boyhood," says Lord Nugent, "lived together as brothers, and the ties of their affection had been straightened by a close and constant agreement in public life."—Memorials of Hampden, i., 251. In the evils which they felt, and the troubles they foresaw at home, their hopes for a season naturally turned to the New World. "To this wild and distant settlement," continues Nugent, "they had determined to retreat in failure of their efforts for justice and peace at home; and there they were jointly to become the founders of a patriarchal community. Of this settlement, liberty of conscience was to be the first law, and it was afterward to be governed according to their darling scheme of a free commonwealth."

The sincerity of their purpose, and that not a transient and fickle one, to remove to New-England, is fully proved by the proposals which were made by them to some leading members of the Massachusetts colony in 1634. The proposals, with their answers, and a letter from Rev. John Cotton, of Boston, on the subject in 1636, may be found in Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, App. I., 431-439. See, also, Winthrop's Journal, i., 135. So early as 1633, they had purchased a tract at Pascataquack, and sent a small colony thither.—Winthrop, i., 115. They had a pinnacle trading there the next year (*ib.*, 131), and for some time kept a friendly correspondence with the people at Massachusetts Bay.—*Ib.*, 161.—H.]

* [Mr. Winthrop came to Boston, empowered to begin a new

Indians in awe, and proved a security to the planters on the river.*

colony, October 8th, 1635. His commission from Lord Say and Sele, and others, was dated July 18th, and his contract with them, July 7th of the same year. Their lordships sent over men, ordnance, ammunition, and £2000 sterling, for the accomplishment of their design. Mr. Winthrop was directed by his commission, immediately on his arrival, to repair to Connecticut with fifty able men, and to erect the fortifications, and to build houses for the garrison, and for gentlemen who might afterward come into the colony. The latter were to be erected within the fort. It was required that the planters, at the beginning, should settle themselves near the mouth of the river, and set down in bodies, that they might be in a situation for intrenching and defending themselves. Mr. Winthrop, having intelligence that the Dutch were preparing to take possession of the mouth of the river, determined to anticipate them; and as soon as he could engage twenty men and furnish them with provisions, despatched them (November 9th) in a small vessel of about thirty tons. A few days after the party sent by Mr. Winthrop arrived there, a Dutch vessel from New-Netherlands (New-York) appeared in the sound off the mouth of the river, which had been sent on purpose to take possession of the entrance of the river and erect fortifications there. The English had by this time two pieces of cannon, and prevented their landing. Mr. Winthrop was appointed governor of the River Connecticut, with the places adjoining, for one year. He erected a fort, built houses, and made a settlement according to his instructions.—Trumbull's History of Connecticut, i., 50, 51, and Appendix II. Winthrop's Journal, i., 170, 173.—H.]

* [The settlement at Saybrook did not remain long in the hands of the original proprietors, and as a separate colony. It was transferred to the Colony of Connecticut, which was planted higher on the river, and in circumstances favouring a more rapid growth, by a contract made December 5th, 1644. As this

When they had formed themselves into a body politic, they honoured him with an election to the magistracy, and afterward chose him governor of the colony.* At the resto-

contract curiously illustrates the state of trade in that region at that period, we give the substance of its provisions. George Fenwick, Esq., one of those who had signed Governor Winthrop's commission, and who resided at Saybrook, assigned to Connecticut all the title of the planters there to the river, fort, and adjacent country, with some slight reservations for his own use. The colony agreed to pay him, for the term of ten years, twopence for every bushel of corn that should pass out of the river's mouth, sixpence for every hundred biscuit, twenty shillings for every hogshead of beaver; for every pound of beaver traded within the limits of the river, twopence; for each milch cow or mare of three years old, twelve pence a year; and for every hog or sow killed within the limits of the river settlement, twelve pence. What should be due for grain, to be paid in grain; what should be due from other sources, to be paid in beaver, wampum, barley, beans, or pease. This contract was superseded by another made February 17th, 1646, by which they agree to pay him £180 a year, one third in good wheat at four shillings a bushel, one third in pease at three shillings a bushel, and one third in rye or barley at three shillings a bushel. In the whole, they are supposed to have paid him about £2000.—Trumbull, i., 150, 200, and Appendix V., VI.—H.]

* [Mr. Winthrop was chosen a magistrate of Connecticut, May 15th, 1651. The Assembly of the colony then consisted of twelve magistrates and twenty-two deputies.—Trumbull, i., 201. He was continued in the number of magistrates till 1657, when he was elected governor. There is, so far as I have means of information, some uncertainty respecting Mr. Winthrop's residence and occupations for several years after 1639. After his expedition to Connecticut, he returned to Ipswich,

ration of King Charles II. he undertook a voyage to England on the behalf of the peo-

Mass., where he lived in 1638 and 1639.—Felt's Ipswich, 394. He sailed for England August 3d, 1641 (Winthrop's Journal, ii., 31, 32), and returned in 1643. In the autumn of 1646 he went to Connecticut to reside permanently.—Ib., ii., 276, and i., Appendix A., 65. On his return from England, in 1643, he brought with him' £1000 in money, together with the necessary stock, workmen, and other preparations for carrying on iron-works here, and obtained from the General Court of Massachusetts a monopoly of the business for twenty-one years, an exemption from public taxes for ten years, and other privileges. Six tracts of land, each three miles square, were assigned to him and his partners. He built a furnace and foundry at Lynn, on the west bank of Saugus River, and another afterward at Braintree, and made arrangements for extensive operations. The court greatly encouraged the undertaking, by formally recommending it to the enterprise of the planters as a work of great public utility, and promising large returns of profit to the adventurers.—Winthrop's Journal, ii., 212, *note*, and 355, 356. The governor, his father, wrote to him at Pequod, September, 1648, "The iron work goes on with more hope. It yields now about seven tons per week. . . . They tried another mine, and after twenty-four hours they had a sum of about 500, which, when they brake, they conceived to be a fifth part silver."—Ib., Appendix A, 69. The next month he writes, "The furnace runs eight tons per week, and their bar-iron is as good as Spanish."—Ib., A, 70. Joseph Jenks, one of the principal workmen at Lynn, took out a patent in 1646 for fourteen years, "for ye making of engines for mills to goe with water, and mills for making of sithes and other edge-tools, with a new-invented sawemill," and in 1654 made a contract with the selectmen of Boston "for an Ingeine to carry water in case of fire."—Lewis's History of Lynn, 92, 100. This enterprise was not very prosperous, chiefly, it is said (Lewis, 92), for the want of silver to buy the

ple, both of Connecticut and New-Haven; and by his prudent address obtained from the king a charter incorporating both colonies into one, with a grant of privileges and powers of government superior to any plantation which had then been settled in America.*

iron with. After much expense and little profit, the works passed into other hands, and, though they continued to be worked, more or less, for a hundred years, were finally abandoned. While in the hands of the old company, they were several times attached for their debts; and Hubbard (N. E., 374) says, "Instead of drawing out bars of iron for the country's use, there was hammered out nothing but contentions and lawsuits." Though there was romance enough in the elder Puritan character, it seldom took the form of golden visions (though William White wrote to Governor Winthrop in 1648 of "great riches concerning whit glass, and *two other things not to be spoken* of within four miles of Boston," Mass. Hist. Coll., xiv., 199); and we may well ascribe Winthrop's agency in this business to a wise forecast of the necessities and advantages of the colony. These were the first mining works in New-England.

In 1651 the Legislature of Connecticut passed an act reciting "the probabilities of mines of metals among those rocky hills," and granting to John Winthrop, and his heirs and assigns forever, such mines as he might discover and work, with the land, &c., within two or three miles, necessary for carrying them on. I do not learn whether any discoveries were made, or any benefit taken from this act. It referred only to mines of lead, copper, tin, antimony, salt, &c. They had no hopes of gold and silver.—Trumbull, i., 201.—H.]

* [Governor Winthrop sailed for England as agent for the colony, and especially to procure a charter for them, in the summer of 1661. He returned, I suppose, in the summer of 1663. The charter was dated April 20th, 1662, and was brought to

During this negotiation, at a private conference with the king, he presented his majesty with a ring which King Charles I. had given to his grandfather. This present rendered him very acceptable to the king, and greatly facilitated the business.* The people, at his return, expressed their gratitude to him by

America May 15th of the same year. The limits of Connecticut, by this charter, included the tract occupied by the settlers of New-Haven. They long and strenuously resisted the scheme of a union with Connecticut, but finally yielded in 1665.—H.]

* [An account of Mr. Winthrop's agency in England was written in verse by Roger Wolcott, Esq., his successor in the government of Connecticut. It is somewhat in "the Heracles vein," and we extract a brief passage as a curiosity. The whole has been printed in the Mass. Hist. Coll., iv., *sub finem*. The poet is describing the rout of the Pequods, which Mr. Winthrop is represented, in the true epic style, as describing to the court, and introduces the following simile :

"As when Euroclydon the forest rends,
The bigger oaks fall down, the lesser bends ;
The beaten leaves and limbs before him scour,
Affrighted and enforced by his power,
To some huge rock, whose adamantine brow
Outbraves the fury of all winds that blow,
There hoping to be hid from the high charge
Of fierce pursuers by his mighty verge.
The winds in pressing troops demand surrender
Of the pursued, and boisterous storm and thunder :
But he browbeats and masters all their pride,
And sends them roaring to the larboard side.
So Mason here, most strongly dress'd in arms,
Reanimates his men, his ranks reforms."—H.]

electing him to the office of governor, for fourteen years together, till his death.*

Mr. Winthrop's genius led him to philosophical inquiries, and his opportunities for conversing with learned men abroad furnished him with a rich variety of knowledge, particularly of the mineral kingdom; and there are some valuable communications of his in the *Philosophical Transactions*, which procured him the honour of being elected a Fellow of the Royal Society.† He had also

* [He was chosen deputy-governor in 1658, and governor every year from 1659 to 1675—seventeen years. He was the first who was chosen two years in succession: a practice which was forbidden by the Constitution of the colony.—*Trumbull*, i., Appendix III., art. 4.—H.]

† [Of the papers communicated by Mr. Winthrop to the *Philosophical Transactions*, I have found only two, which, indeed, are probably all. One is a letter occupying two pages (*Phil. Trans.*, v., 1151), accompanying and describing a small collection of natural curiosities which he sent from New-England; and “especially a very strange and very curiously contrived fish.” Among the curiosities were specimens of dwarf, or, as we call it, shrub-oak, on which he remarks, that “it may be truly said, that there is a Country where Hoggs are so tall that they eat acorns upon the standing growing Oakes.” The fish was certainly “very strange,” if we may judge of it from the plate and description. It was taken in Massachusetts Bay, and “spread itself from a pentagonal root (the body) into five main limbs,” each of which was continually subdivided, till the number of branches from each was 81,920, “beyond which the farther expanding of the fish could not be certainly traced.” The

much skill in the art of physic, and generously distributed many valuable medicines

editor of that volume of the Transactions named it *Piscis Echino-stellaris Visciformis*.

The other paper, of about five pages (Phil. Trans., xii., 1065), was entitled "The Description, Culture, and Use of Maize." It would appear from this article that *samp* was an original Indian dish, and a favourite one with the early settlers of New-England. They were told by the Indians, who lived much on it, that they were seldom afflicted with that painful disease the stone. Mr. Winthrop says "it was often prescribed by the learned Dr. Wilson to his patients in London."

To show more fully the connexion of Mr. Winthrop with the Royal Society, and the interest he took in its proceedings and inquiries, as well as the esteem in which his judgment was held by his associates, we have made some extracts from its records, as given by Dr. Birch in his history of that association. The Society was incorporated by royal charter July 15th, 1662, and it will be noticed that Mr. Winthrop was previously a member, and may be considered, in a sense, one of the founders of it.

"1661, Dec. 18. John Winthrop, Esq., was proposed as a candidate by Mr. Brereton."—Birch, i., 67.

"1662, Jan. 1. Mr. Winthrop was admitted into the Society."—Ib., 68.

"1662, Feb. 12. Mr. Winthrop promised to deliver in an account of strange tides at the next meeting."—Ib., 76.

"1662, March 5. The account of the refining of gold was ordered to be brought in at the next meeting by Dr. Goddard, Dr. Whistler, and Mr. Winthrop."—Ib., 77.

"1662, April 23. Mr. Winthrop showed a tin lamp, called a bladder's lamp, burning high like a candle, continually feeding itself; of which a diagram was ordered to be made and registered."—Ib., 80.

"1662, April 30. Mr. Winthrop produced a little stone, of which one part was, as it came from the rock, of an amethyst

among the people, who constantly applied to him whenever they had need, and were treated with a kindness that did honour to their benefactor.

His many valuable qualities as a gentleman, a Christian, a philosopher, and a public ruler, procured him the universal respect of

colour, and the other, after calcination, of a flesh colour."—*Ib.*, 82.

"1662, June 25. Mr. Winthrop was desired to communicate in writing the manner of making pitch and tar."—*Ib.*, 87.

"1662, July 9. Mr. Winthrop read his history of the making pitch and tar in New-England, and was desired to prosecute it."—*Ib.*, 88. July 16, the paper was finished, and may be found at length in *Birch*, i., 99–102.

"1662, Sept. 24. Mr. Winthrop read his paper concerning the conveniency of building of ships in some of the northern parts of America ; which was ordered to be registered."—*Ib.*, i., 112, 113.

"1662, Dec. 17. Mr. Winthrop, showing the Society some Indian corn, some grains of which were bluish, promised to give them in writing the history of ordering it in the West Indies. He showed also the tail of a rattlesnake, which he said increased every year by one ring, whence the people conjecture the age."—*Ib.*, 162.

"1662, Dec. 31. Mr. Winthrop remarked that there was no right black-lead anywhere except in England and New-England."—*Ib.*, 167.

"1663, Jan. 7. Mr. Winthrop was desired to make experiment of beer out of barley and maize."—*Ib.*, 171.

"1663, March 11. Mr. Winthrop presented some bottles of beer brewed out of maize bread, which was a pale, well-tasted, middle beer."—*Ib.*, 206.—*H.*]

the people under his government; and his unwearied attention to the public business, and great understanding in the art of government, were of unspeakable advantage to them. Being one of the commissioners of the United Colonies of New-England in the year 1676, in the height of the first general Indian war, as he was attending the service at Boston, he fell sick of a fever, and died on the 5th of April, in the seventy-first year of his age, and was honourably buried in the same tomb with his excellent father.*†

* Mather's *Magnalia*. •

† [He was twice married. In England to Martha Painter, by whom he had no children, and who died at Ipswich, Mass., soon after the settlement of that place. His second wife, whom he married probably in 1635, was Elizabeth, daughter of the famous Hugh Peters. She bore him two sons and five daughters. Fitz-John, one of his sons, was for many years governor of Connecticut, and Waitstill, or Wait Still, after the revolution of 1689, was chief-justice of Massachusetts.—Winthrop's Journal, i., 64, notes.—H.]

XXVI. GEORGE CALVERT, CECILIUS CALVERT, LORDS BALTIMORE. LEONARD CALVERT.

GEORGE CALVERT was descended from a noble family of Flanders, and born at Kipling, in Yorkshire (1582). He received his education at Trinity College, in Oxford, and, after taking his bachelor's degree (1597), travelled over the Continent of Europe. At his return to England in the beginning of the reign of James I., he was taken into the office of Sir Robert Cecil, secretary of state; and when Sir Robert was advanced to be lord-high-treasurer, he retained Calvert in his service, and employed him in several weighty matters of state.*

* [Sir George was, through the influence of Sir Thomas Wentworth, chosen one of the representatives of Yorkshire in the Parliament of 1620, '21. He was a strenuous defender of the royal prerogative, as appears from the debates in the House of Commons in the Parliament of 1627, '28, on a bill for a free fishery on the coasts of Virginia, New-England, &c., which he opposed as contrary to the king's authority, insisting that "the territory of America, being gotten by conquest, ought to be governed as the king pleases."—Chalmers, 201, and see 114, 115.—H.]

By the interest of Sir Robert, then Earl of Salisbury, he was appointed one of the clerks of the council, and received the honour of knighthood (1617), and in the following year was made secretary of state, in the room of Sir Thomas Lake. Conceiving the Duke of Buckingham to have been instrumental of his preferment, he presented him with a jewel of great value ; but the duke returned it, with a message that he owed his advancement to his own merit and the good pleasure of his sovereign, who was fully sensible of it. His great knowledge of public business, and his diligence and fidelity in conducting it, had rendered him very acceptable to the king, who granted him a pension of £1000 out of the customs.

In 1624 he conscientiously became a Roman Catholic, and, having freely owned his principles to the king, resigned his office. This ingenuous confession so affected the mind of James, that he not only continued him on the list of privy counsellors, but created him Baron of Baltimore, in the county of Longford, in Ireland.

While he was secretary of state, and one of the Committee of Trade and Plantations, he obtained from the king a patent for the

southeastern Peninsula of Newfoundland, which he named the Province of Avalon, from Avalonius, a monk, who was supposed to have converted the British King Lucius and all his court to Christianity; in remembrance of which event the Abbey of Glastonbury was founded at Avalon, in Somersetshire. Sir George gave his province this name, imagining it would be the first place in North America where the Gospel would be preached.*

At Ferryland, in his Province of Avalon, he built a fine house, and spent £25,000 in advancing his plantation, which he visited twice in person.† But it was so annoyed by the French, that, though he once repulsed and pursued their ships, and took sixty prisoners, yet he found his province so much exposed to their insults, and the trouble and

* See Collier's Dictionary, and Kippis's Biog. Brit., article *Calvert*. Fuller's Worthies of England, 202. Camden's Britannia, 63.

† [The colony in Newfoundland was settled, under the orders of Calvert, by Captain Edward Wynne, in 1621.—Chalmers, 201. He erected granaries, saltworks, &c. The first visit of Sir George was probably in 1625, and the second probably (Chalmers, 201, intimates that he came from England a second time) on his return from Virginia in 1628. Bosman, p. 256, is wrong in saying 1627; for he was active in Parliament in 1627.—H.]

expense of defending it so very great, that he was obliged to abandon it, and be content with the loss of what he had laid out in the improvement of a territory, the soil and climate of which were considered as unfavourable to his views.*

Being still inclined to form a settlement in America, whither he might retire with his family and friends of the same religious principles, he made a visit to Virginia, the fertility and advantages of which had been highly celebrated, and in which he had been interested as one of the adventurers.† But the people there, being Protestants of the Church of England, regarded him with a jealous eye on account of his religion, and by their unwelcome reception of him he was discouraged from settling within their jurisdiction.

In visiting the Bay of Chesapeake he observed that the Virginians had established trading-houses on some of the islands, but that they had not extended their plantations to the northward of the River Potowmack, although the country there was equally valuable with that which they had planted.

When he returned to England he applied to King Charles I. for the grant of a territory

* Chalmers, 201.

† Smith, 130. Beverley, 46.

northward of the Potowmack ; and the king, who had as great an affection for him as had his father James, readily complied with his request. But, owing to the tedious forms of public business, before a patent could be completed and pass the seals, Lord Baltimore died at London on the 15th of April, 1632, in the 51st year of his age.

The character of this nobleman is thus drawn.* Though he was a Roman Catholic, he kept himself disengaged from all interests, behaving with such moderation and propriety that all parties were pleased with him, and none complained of him. He was a man of great good sense, not obstinate in his opinions, taking as much pleasure in hearing the sentiments of others as in delivering his own. While he was secretary of state he examined all letters, and carried to the king every night an exact and well-digested account of affairs. He agreed well with Sir John Popham in the design of foreign plantations, but differed in the manner of executing it. Popham was for extirpating the original inhabitants, Calvert was for civilizing and converting them. The former was for present profit, the latter for reasonable ex-

* Collier and Kippis.

pectation, and for employing governors who were not interested merchants, but unconcerned gentlemen; he was for granting liberties with caution, leaving every one to provide for himself by his own industry, and not to depend on a common interest. He left something respecting America in writing, but it does not appear that it was ever printed.

After the death of Sir George, the patent was again drawn in the name of his eldest son, Cecil, Lord Baltimore, and passed the seals on the 28th of June, 1632.* The original

* [We may add a word to the notice of the second Lord Baltimore. Chalmers (362, 363) says, "Cecilius, the father of the province, having lived to enjoy, what few men ever possess, the fruit of the tree which his own hands had planted, died in the beginning of 1676, covered with age and reputation, in the 44th year of his government. Too honest a man to scatter the idle theories of the projector among the million, he published no scheme of ideal commonwealths to delude his followers; and too wise not to mark the solid texture and excellent balance of the English Constitution, he resolved to build upon its plan, and to rear that of Maryland with all possible consimilarity. . . It was his constant maxim, which he often recommended to the Legislature, 'That by concord a small colony may grow into a great and renowned nation; but that, by dissension, mighty and glorious kingdoms have declined and fallen into nothing.' On his tombstone ought to be engraven, that while fanaticism deluged the empire, he refused his consent to the repeal of a law which, in the true spirit of Christianity, gave liberty of conscience to all."

He appointed his son Charles governor in 1662, "that he
III.—R

draught being in Latin, the patentee is called *Cecilius*, and the country "*Terra Mariæ*, alias Maryland,"* in honour of Henrietta Maria, the queen consort of Charles I.†

From the great precision of this charter, the powers which it gives to the proprietor, and the privileges and exemptions which it grants to the people, it is evident that Sir George himself was the chief penman of it. One omission was soon discovered: no provision was made that the laws should be transmitted to the sovereign for his approbation or disallowance. The Commissioners of Trade and Plantations made a representation of this defect to the House of Commons in 1633, and an act of Parliament was proposed as the only remedy.‡

The province of Maryland is thus described. All that part of a peninsula in America, lying between the ocean on the east might know the people, and learn to rule them." Charles succeeded as proprietary in 1676.—H.] * Hazard, i., 327.

† Ogilby (p. 183) says that a blank was left for the name of the territory, which Lord Baltimore intended to have filled with *Crescentia*. But when the king asked him for a name, he complaisantly referred it to his majesty's pleasure, who proposed the name of the queen, to which his lordship could not but consent.

He also says that the second Lord Baltimore was christened Cecil, in honour of his father's patron, but was confirmed by the name of *Cecilius* (p. 184). ‡ Chalmers, 203.

and the Bay of Chesapeake on the west, and divided from the other part by a right line drawn from Watkin's Point, in the aforesaid bay, on the west, to the main ocean on the east. Thence to that part of Delaware Bay, on the north, which lieth *under the fortieth degree* of north latitude from the equinoctial, where New-England ends. Thence in a right line, by the degree aforesaid, to the true meridian of the first fountains of the River Potowmac. Thence following the course of said river to its mouth, where it falls into the Bay of Chesapeake. Thence on a right line across the bay to Watkin's Point, with all the islands and islets within these limits.

This region was erected into a province, and the proprietor was invested with palatine honours. In conjunction with the freemen or their delegates, he had legislative, and in person, or by officers of his own appointment, he had executive powers. He had also the advowson of churches, the erection of manors, boroughs, cities, and ports, saving the liberty of fishing and drying fish, which was declared common to all the king's subjects. The charter provided, that if any doubts should arise concerning the sense of it, such an interpretation should be given as would be

most favourable to the interest of the proprietor.*

The territory is said to be “in the parts of America *not yet cultivated*, though inhabited by a barbarous people;” and it is provided that the province “should not be holden or reputed as *part of Virginia*, or of any other colony, but immediately dependant on the crown of England.” These clauses, together with the construction put on the *fortieth degree* of latitude, proved the ground of long and bitter controversies, one of which was not closed till after the lapse of a century.

Twelve years before the date of the charter (1620), John Porey, some time secretary of Virginia, who had sailed into the northern part of the Bay of Chesapeake, reported that he found “near one hundred English people very happily settled there, and engaged in a fur-trade with the natives.”† In the year before the date of the charter (1631), King Charles had granted a license, under the privy

* [There was also a singular covenant on the part of the king, “that neither he nor any of his successors should *at any time* impose, or cause to be imposed, any tallages on the colonists, on their goods or tenements, or on their commodities to be laden within the province. Thus was confirmed on Maryland that exemption *forever*, which had been granted to other colonies for years.”—Chalmers, 203.—H.] † Purchas, v., 1784.

seal of Scotland, to Sir William Alexander,* proprietor of Nova Scotia, and to William Cleyborne, counsellor and secretary of Virginia, to trade in those parts of America for which there had not been a patent granted to others; and sent an order to the governor of Virginia to permit them freely to trade there. In consequence of which, Sir John Harvey and his council, in the same year, had granted to the said Cleyborne a permission to sail and traffic to the "adjoining plantations of the Dutch, or to any English plantation on the territory of America."† As nothing is said in these instruments of the Swedes, who first planted the shores of the Bay of Delaware, it has been inferred by the advocates of Baltimore that they had not settled there previous to the charter of Maryland, though

* [Sir William Alexander was born in Scotland in 1580. He received a liberal education, and travelled as companion to the Duke of Argyle. Soon after his return he married Janet, the heiress of Sir William Erskine, and removed to the court of James VI., where he acquired much note by his dramatic and other writings. The king used to call him his philosophical poet. He was knighted in 1631, made secretary of state for Scotland in 1626, and created Earl of Sterling in 1633. He continued in the office of secretary till his death in 1640. The grant of Nova Scotia was made in 1621.—See Gorton's Biog Dict., and Haliburton's Nova Scotia, i., 40, note.—H.]

† Chalmers, 229.

the family of Penn insisted on it as a fact that the occupancy of the Swedes was prior to that period. In consequence of the license given to Cleyborne, he and his associates had made a settlement on the Isle of Kent, far within the limits of Maryland, and claimed a monopoly of the trade in the Chesapeake. These people, it is said, sent burgesses to the Legislature of Virginia, and were considered as subject to its jurisdiction before the establishment of Maryland.

After receiving the charter, Lord Baltimore began to prepare for the collecting and transporting a colony to America. At first he intended to go in person, but afterward changed his mind, and appointed his brother, Leonard Calvert, governor, with two assistants, Jeremy Hawley and Thomas Cornwallis. These, with about two hundred persons,* of good families and of the Roman Catholic persuasion, embarked at Cowes, in the Isle of Wight, on the twenty-second of

* The names of the principal men of the colony were, George Calvert, brother to the proprietor and governor, Richard Gerard, Edward Winter, Frederic Winter, Henry Wiseman, John Sanders, John Baxter, Edward Cranfield, Henry Green, Nicholas Fairfax, Thomas Dorrell, John Medcalf, William Sayre, John Hill.—See Douglass, ii., 357. Chalmers, 207. Oldmixon, i., 135.

November, 1633, and, after a circuitous voyage through the West Indian Islands, touching first at Barbadoes and then at St. Christopher's, they came to anchor before Point Comfort, in Virginia, on the twenty-fourth of February, 1634, and, going up to Jamestown, delivered to Governor Harvey the letters which the king had written in their favour. The governor and his council received them with that civility which was due to the command of their sovereign, but they resolved "to maintain the rights of the prior settlement." They afforded to the new colony supplies of provision for domestic use, but considered them as intruders on their territory, and as obstructing that traffic from which they had derived and expected to derive much advantage.

On the 3d of March, Calvert, with his colony, proceeded in the Bay of Chesapeake to the northward, and entered the Potowmac, up which he sailed twelve leagues, and came to anchor under an island, which he named *St. Clement*. Here he fired his cannon, erected his cross, and took possession, "in the name of the Saviour of the world and the King of England." Thence he went with his pinnaces fifteen leagues higher to the In-

dian town of Potowmac, on the Virginian side of the river, now called New-Marlborough, where he was received in a friendly manner by the guardian regent, the prince of the country being a minor. Thence he sailed twelve leagues farther, to the town of Piscataway, on the Maryland side, where he found *Henry Fleet*, an Englishman, who had resided several years among the natives, and was held by them in great esteem. He procured an interview between Calvert and the werowance* or lord of the place, and officiated as their interpreter. Calvert, determining to pursue a course of conduct founded on pacific and honourable intentions, asked the werowance whether he was willing that he and his people should settle in his country. His answer was short and prudent: "I will not bid you to go nor to stay; but you may use your own discretion." This interview was held on board the governor's pinnace; the natives on the shore crowded to the water's edge to look after their sovereign, and

* [The word werowance appears to have signified, among the Indians, the king, or chief, or head man of the tribe or nation. The infancy of the werowance mentioned above—"the prince of the country"—seems to disprove what is alleged by some writers, that among the American Indians monarchy is always elective.—Bosman, 271, note.—H.]

were not satisfied of his safety till he stood up and showed himself to them.

Having made this discovery of the river, and convinced the natives that his designs were amicable, the governor, not thinking it advisable to make his first settlement so high up the river, sailed down to the ships, taking Fleet with him for a guide. The natives, who, when they first saw the ships and heard the guns, had fled from St. Clement's Island and its neighbourhood, returned to their habitations, and seemed to repose confidence in their new friends ; but this was not deemed a proper station. Under the conduct of Fleet, the governor visited a creek on the northern side of the Potowmac, about four leagues from its mouth, where was an Indian village surrounded by cornfields, and called Yoacomaco.* Calvert went on shore, and acquainted the prince of the place with his intention, who was rather reserved in his answer, but entertained him in a friendly manner, and gave him a lodging in his own bed.

On the next day he showed Calvert the country, which pleased him so well that he determined there to fix his abode, and treat-

* [Bosman gives Yoamaco as the correct spelling (p. 272, note).—H.]

ed with the prince about purchasing the place. Calvert presented him and his principal men with English cloth, axes, hoes, and knives; and they consented that their new friends should reside in one part of their town, and themselves in the other part, till the next harvest, when they promised to quit the place, and resign it wholly to them. Both parties entered into a contract to live together in a friendly manner; or, if any injury should be done on either side, the offending party should make satisfaction. Calvert having given them what he deemed a valuable consideration, with which they appeared to be content, they readily quitted a number of their houses and retired to the others; and, it being the season for planting, both parties went to work. Thus, on the 27th of March, 1634, the English colony took peaceable possession of the country of Maryland, and gave to the town the name of St. Mary, and to the creek on which it was situate the name of St. George.

The desire of quieting the natives, by giving them a reasonable and satisfactory compensation for their lands, is a trait in the character of the first planters which will always do honour to their memory.

It was a fortunate circumstance for these

adventurers that, previous to their arrival, the Indians of Yoacomaco had resolved to quit their country, and retire to the westward, that they might be free from the incursions of the Susquehanocks, a powerful and warlike nation residing between the Bays of Chesapeake and Delaware, who frequently invaded them, and carried off their provisions and women. Some had actually removed, and the others were preparing to follow, but were encouraged to remain another season by the presence of the English. They lived on friendly terms with the colony; the men assisted them in hunting and fishing; the women taught them to manage the planting and culture of corn, and the making it into bread; and they were compensated for their labour and kindness in such tools and trinkets as were pleasing to them. According to their promise, they quitted the place wholly in the following year, and the colony had full and quiet possession.

At his first settlement in this place Calvert erected a house, and mounted a guard for the security of his people and stores. He was soon after visited by Sir John Harvey, and by several of the Indian princes. At an entertainment on board one of the ships, the

werowance of Patuxent was seated between the Governor of Virginia and the Governor of Maryland. One of his own subjects coming on board and seeing his sovereign in that situation, started with surprise, thinking him a prisoner, as he had been once before to the Virginians. The prince rose from the table, and satisfied the Indian that he was safe, which prevented his affectionate subject from leaping into the water, as he had attempted. This werowance was so much pleased with the conduct of Calvert and his people, that, after many other compliments, he said to them at parting, "I love the English so well, that if I knew they would kill me, I would command my people not to revenge my death, because I am sure they would not kill me but through my own fault."

The colony had brought with them English meal; but they found Indian corn in great plenty both at Barbadoes and Virginia, and by the next spring they were able to export one thousand bushels to New-England and Newfoundland, for which they received dried fish and other provisions in return. They procured cattle, swine, and poultry from Virginia. They were very industrious in building houses and making gardens, in which they

sowed the seeds of European esculent vegetables, and had the pleasure of seeing them come to high perfection. They suffered much in their health by the fever and ague, and many of them died ; but when the survivors were seasoned to the climate, and had learned the use of indigenous medicinal remedies, they enjoyed their health much better. The country had so many natural advantages that it soon became populous. Many Roman Catholic families from England resorted thither ; and the proprietor, with a degree of wisdom and generosity, then unparalleled but in Holland, after having established the Christian religion upon the footing of common law, granted liberty of conscience and equal privileges to Christians of every denomination. With this essential benefit was connected security of property ; lands were given, in lots of fifty acres, to every emigrant, in absolute fee simple.* Under such advantages, the

* [In the early years of this colony lands were granted in various quantities and on various conditions. By Lord Baltimore's "Instructions" to his brother, dated August 8th, 1636, each of the *first* adventurers was to receive for every five men he brought into the colony 2000 acres, subject to a rent of 400 lbs. of good wheat ; those who brought a smaller number were to have 100 acres for each grown person, and 50 for every child under sixteen years. Those who came later received 2000 acres for ev-

people thought themselves so happy, that in an early period of their colonial existence, they in return granted to the proprietor a subsidy of fifteen pounds of tobacco on every poll, "as a testimony of their gratitude for his great charge and solicitude in maintaining the government, in protecting the inhabitants in their rights, and for reimbursing his vast expense," which during the first two years exceeded forty thousand pounds sterling.*

ery ten men, &c. These grants were to be made under the great seal of the province, and to them and their heirs forever. The "Instructions" are given in substance in Bosman, 283-286.

—H.]

* Chalmers, 208.

XXVII. WILLIAM PENN.

WILLIAM PENN, the founder of Pennsylvania, was the grandson of Captain Giles Penn, an English consul in the Mediterranean; and the son of Sir William Penn, an admiral of the English navy, in the protectorate of Cromwell, and in the reign of Charles II., in which offices he rendered very important services to the nation, particularly by the conquest of Jamaica from the Spaniards, and in a naval victory over the Dutch. William was born October 14, 1644, in the parish of St. Catharine, near the Tower of London, educated at Chigwell, in Essex, and at a private school in London; and in the fifteenth year of his age entered as a student and gentleman commoner of Christ-Church College in Oxford.

His genius was bright,* his disposition so-

* [The portrait of Penn, painted somewhat later, yet in his early life, represents him as "eminently handsome; the expression of his countenance remarkably pleasing and sweet; his eye dark and lively, and his hair flowing gracefully over his shoulders, according to the fashion set by the worthless though fascinating Charles II."—Fisher's *Private Life of Penn*, Mem of Penn. Hist. Society, vol. iii., part ii., p. 71.—H.]

ber and studious ; and being possessed of a lively imagination and a warm heart, the first turn of his mind towards religious subjects was attended with circumstances bordering on enthusiasm. Having received his first impressions from the preaching of Thomas Loe, an itinerant Quaker, he conceived a favourable opinion of the flights and refinements of that rising sect, which led him, while at the University, in conjunction with some other students, to withdraw from the established worship and hold a private meeting, where they preached and prayed in their own way. The discipline of the University being very strict in such matters, he was fined for the *sin* of non-conformity ; this served to fix him more firmly in his principles and habits, and exposed his singularity more openly to the world. His conduct being then deemed obstinate, he was, in the sixteenth year of his age, expelled as an incorrigible offender against the laws of uniformity.

On his return home he found his father highly incensed against him. As neither remonstrances, nor threatenings, nor *blows* could divest him of his religious attachments, he was for a while turned out of the house ; but, by the influence of his mother, he was so

far restored to favour as to be sent to France, in company with some persons of quality, with a view to unbend his mind and refine his manners. Here he learned the language of the country, and acquired such a polite and courtly behaviour,* that his father, after two years' absence, received him with joy, hoping that the object of his wishes was attained. He was then admitted into Lincoln's Inn, where he studied law till the plague broke out in 1665, when he returned to his father's house.

About this time (1666), the king's coffers being low, and claims for unrewarded services being importunate, grants were frequently made of lands in Ireland; and the merits of Sir William Penn being not the least conspicuous, he received a valuable estate in the county of Cork, and committed the management of it to his son, then in the twenty-second year of his age. Here he met with his old friend Loe, and immediately attached himself to the society of Quakers, though at that time they were subject to se-

* [In Pepys's Diary, vol. i., p. 311, under the date of August 26, 1664, we find this record: "Mr. Pen, Sir William's son, is come back from France, and came to visit my wife. A most modish person grown, she says a fine gentleman."—H.]

vere persecution. This might have operated as a discouragement to a young gentleman of such quality and expectations, especially as he exposed himself thereby to the renewed displeasure of a parent who loved him, had not the integrity and fervour of his mind induced him to sacrifice all worldly considerations to the dictates of his conscience.

It was not long before he was apprehended at a religious "*conventicle*," and, with eighteen others, committed to prison by the mayor of Cork; but upon his writing a handsome address to the Earl of Orrery, lord-president of Munster, in which he very sensibly pleaded for liberty of conscience, and professed his desire of a peaceable, and his abhorrence of a tumultuous and disrespectful separation from the established worship, he was discharged. This second stroke of persecution engaged him more closely to the Quakers. He associated openly with them, and bore with calmness and patience the cruel abuse which was liberally bestowed on that singular party.*

* [Pepys notices this attachment to the Quakers as we might suppose he would. "At night (Dec. 29, 1667) comes Mrs. Turner to see us; and then, among other talk, she tells me that Mr. William Pen, who is lately come over from Ireland, is a

His father being informed of his conduct, remanded him home ; and though now William's age forbade his trying the force of that species of discipline to which, as a naval commander, he had been accustomed, yet he plied him with those arguments which it was natural for a man of the world to use, and which, to such a one, would have been prevailing. The principal one was a threatening to disinherit him ; and to this he humbly submitted, though he could by no means be persuaded to take off his hat in presence of the king, the Duke of York, or his father.* For this inflexibility he was again turned out of doors ; upon which he commenced an itinerant preacher, and had much success in ma-

Quaker again, or some very melancholy thing ; that he cares for no company, nor comes into any ; which is a pleasant thing, after his being abroad so long."—Diary, ii, 172.—H.]

* [Jesse, in his *Continuation of his Memoirs of the Stuarts*, i., 213, relates the following anecdote, which is characteristic enough to be true. "Among those whom he (the king) admitted to familiar intercourse, was William Penn, the celebrated Quaker and lawgiver of Pennsylvania. Penn, on his introduction, had continued standing before the king without removing his hat. Nothing could be more characteristic than the quiet rebuke of Charles : he merely took off his own hat, and stood uncovered before Penn. 'Friend Charles,' said the future legislator, 'why dost thou not keep on thy hat?'—'Tis the custom of this place,' replied the witty monarch, 'for only *one* person to remain covered at a time.'"—H.]

king proselytes. In these excursions, the opposition which he met with from the clergy and the magistracy frequently brought him into difficulties, and sometimes to imprisonment; but his integrity was so manifest, and his patience so invincible, that his father at length became softened towards him, and not only exerted his interest to release him from confinement, but winked at his return to the family whenever it suited his conveniency. His mother was always his friend, and often supplied his necessities without the knowledge of the father.

In the year 1668 he commenced author; and, having written a book entitled "The Sandy Foundation Shaken," which gave great offence to the spiritual lords, he was imprisoned in the Tower, and the visits of his friends were forbidden. But his adversaries found him proof against all their efforts to subdue him; for a message being brought to him by the Bishop of London that he must either publicly recant or die a prisoner, his answer was, "My prison shall be my grave. I owe my conscience to no man. They are mistaken in me; I value not their threats. They shall know that I can weary out their malice, and baffle all their designs by the spirit

of patience." During this confinement he wrote his famous book, "No Cross, No Crown;" and another, "Innocency with her open Face," in which he explained and vindicated the principles which he had advanced in the book for which he was imprisoned. This, with a letter which he wrote to Lord Arlington, secretary of state, aided by the interest which his father had at court, procured his release, after seven months' confinement.

Soon after this he made another visit to Ireland to settle his father's concerns, in which he exerted himself with great industry and success. Here he constantly appeared at the meetings of the Quakers, and not only officiated as a preacher, but used his interest with the lord-lieutenant, and others of the nobility, to procure indulgence for them, and get some of them released from their imprisonment.

In 1670 an act of Parliament was made, which prohibited the meetings of Dissenters, under severe penalties. The Quakers being forcibly debarred entering their meeting-house in Grace-Church-street, London, assembled before it in the street, where Penn preached to a numerous concourse; and being apprehended on the spot by a warrant

from the lord mayor, was committed to Newgate, and at the next session took his trial at the Old Bailey, where he pleaded his own cause with the freedom of an Englishman and the magnanimity of a hero. The jury at first brought in their verdict, "*guilty of speaking in Grace-Church-street ;*" but this being unsatisfactory to the court, they were detained all night, and the next day returned their verdict "*not guilty.*" The court were highly incensed against them, fined them forty marks each, and imprisoned them along with Penn till their fines and fees were paid. An unlucky expression which dropped from the recorder on this trial, rendered the cause of the Quakers popular, and their persecutors odious: "It will never be well with us," said the infamous Sir John Howel, "till something like the Spanish Inquisition be established in England." The triumph of Penn was complete: being acquitted by his peers, he was released from prison on the payment of his fees, and returned to the zealous exercise of his ministry.

His conduct under this prosecution did him great honour.* His father became perfectly

* [Mr. Fisher remarks that, though he had forsaken the fashionable society which he had before enjoyed, and had at-

reconciled to him, and soon after died,* leaving his paternal blessing and a plentiful estate. This accession of fortune made no alteration in his manners or habits. He continued to preach, to write, and to travel as before; and, within a few months afterward, was taken up again for preaching in the street, and carried to the Tower, from whence, after a long examination, he was sent to Newgate, and being discharged without any trial at the end of nine months, he went over to Holland and Germany, where he continued travelling and preaching till the king published his declaration of indulgence to tender

tached himself to a despised sect, "it is remarkable that we do not find he forfeited the respect, or even incurred the ridicule, of his old friends and companions."—*Memoirs of the Pennsylvania Historical Society*, iii., part ii., p. 72. A just tribute from those who knew him best to his consummate prudence, as well as to the frankness of his character and the sincerity of his new religious profession.—H.]

* The dying advice of his father to him deserves to be remembered. "Three things I commend to you. 1. Let nothing tempt you to wrong your conscience: If you keep peace at home, it will be a feast to you in a day of trouble. 2. Whatever you design to do, lay it justly, and time it seasonably; for that gives security and despatch. 3. Be not troubled at disappointments: if they may be recovered, do it; if not, trouble is vain.—These rules will carry you with firmness and comfort through this inconstant world."—*No Cross, no Crown*, 2d ed.

consciences, upon which he returned to England, married a daughter of Sir William Springet, and settled at Rickmansworth, in Hertfordshire, where he pursued his studies, and multiplied his controversial writings for about five years.

In 1677 he "had a drawing" to renew his travels in Holland and Germany, in company with Fox, Barclay, Keith, and several others of his brethren. The inducement to this journey was the candid reception which had been given, by divines and other learned men in Germany, to the sentiments of every well-meaning preacher who dissented from the Church of Rome. In the course of these travels they settled the order of church-government, discipline, correspondence, and marriage* among their friends in Holland; dis-

* It may not be amiss here to introduce an extract from Mr. Penn's Journal containing the sentiments of the Quakers concerning *marriage*: "Amsterdam, the 3d of the 6th month, 1677. A scruple concerning the law of the magistrate about marriage being proposed and discoursed of in the fear of God, among friends at a select meeting, it was the universal and unanimous sense of friends, that joining in marriage is the work of the Lord only, and not of priest or magistrate. It is God's ordinance, and not man's. It was God's work before the fall, and it is God's work in the restoration. We marry none; it is the Lord's work, and we are but witnesses. But if a friend have a desire that the magistrate should know it before the marriage be

persed their books among all sorts of people who were inclined to receive them; visited many persons of distinction, and wrote letters to others, particularly to the King of Poland and the Elector Palatine. They were received very courteously by the Princess Elizabeth, grand-daughter of King James I., then resident at Herwerden, who, though not perfectly initiated into the mystery of "the holy silence," yet had been brought to a "waiting frame," and admitted them to several private meetings and conferences in her apartments, in company with the Countess of Hornes and other ladies, her attendants; and afterward kept up a correspondence with Mr. Penn till her death.

On his return to England he found his friends suffering by the operation of a law made against papists, the edge of which was unjustly turned against them. The law required a certain oath to be tendered to those who were suspected of popery; and, because the Quakers denied the lawfulness of oaths in any case whatever, they were obliged to conclude, he may publish the same (after the thing hath by friends been found clear), and, after the marriage is performed in a public meeting of friends and others, may carry a copy of the certificate to the magistrates, that, if they please, they may register it."

bear the penalty annexed to the refusal of this oath, which was no less than a fine of twenty pounds per month, or two thirds of their estate. By Penn's advice they petitioned the Parliament for redress of this grievance, and, after explaining the reason of their declining the oath, offered to give their *word* to the same purport, and to submit to the penalty "if they should be found faulty." Penn had a hearing before a committee of Parliament, when he pleaded the cause of his friends and of himself in a sensible, decent, convincing manner; and what he said had so much weight, that the committee agreed to insert in a bill then pending a proviso for their relief. The bill passed the Commons, but, before it could be got through the House of Lords, it was lost by a sudden prorogation of Parliament.

We have hitherto viewed Mr. Penn as a Christian and a preacher, and he appears to have been honest, zealous, patient, and industrious in the concerns of religion. His abilities and his literary acquirements were eminently serviceable to the fraternity with which he was connected; and it was owing to his exertions, in conjunction with Barclay and Keith, that they were formed into order, and

that a regular correspondence and discipline were established among the several societies of them dispersed in Europe and America. His writings served to give the world a more just and favourable idea of their principles than could be had from the harangues of illiterate preachers or the rhapsodies of enthusiastic writers, while his family and fortune procured for them a degree of respectability at home and abroad. His controversial writings are modest, candid, and persuasive. His book entitled "The Christian Quaker" is a sensible vindication of the doctrine of Universal Saving Light. His style is clear and perspicuous; and, though he does not affect so much scholastic subtilty in his argumentation as his friend Barclay, yet he is by no means inferior to him in solidity of reasoning. His character is thus drawn by the editor of his works: "Our worthy friend, William Penn, was known to be a man of great abilities; of an excellent sweetness of disposition; of quick thought and ready utterance; full of love, without dissimulation; as extensive in charity as comprehensive in knowledge; so ready to forgive enemies, that the ungrateful were not excepted. He was learned without vanity, apt without forwardness,

facetious in conversation, yet weighty and serious; of an extraordinary greatness of mind, yet void of the stain of ambition."

We shall now view him in the character of a LEGISLATOR, in which respect his learning, his sufferings, his acquaintance with mankind, and his genuine liberality, were of great use to him. Among his various studies, he had not omitted to acquaint himself with the principles of law and government; and he had more especial inducement to this from the prosecutions and arrests which he frequently suffered, into the legality of which it was natural for him to inquire. He had observed in his travels abroad, as well as in his acquaintance at home, the workings of arbitrary power, and the mischiefs of usurpation; and he had studied the whole controversy between regal and popular claims: the result of which was, that government must be founded in justice, and exercised with moderation. One of his maxims was, that "the people being the *wife-politic* of the prince, is better managed by wisdom than ruled by force." His own feelings, as well as reflections, led him to adopt the most liberal idea of toleration. Freedom of profession and inquiry, and a total abhorrence of persecution for conscience'

sake, were his darling principles ; and it is a singular circumstance in the history of mankind, that Divine Providence should give to such a man as William Penn an opportunity to make a fair and *consistent* experiment of these excellent maxims, by establishing a colony in America on the most liberal principles of toleration, at a time when the policy of the oldest nations of Europe were ineffectually employed in endeavouring to reduce the active minds of men to a most absurd uniformity in articles of faith and modes of worship.

It has been observed that his father, Sir William Penn, had merited much by his services in the English navy. There were also certain debts due to him from the crown at the time of his death, which the royal treasures were poorly able to discharge. His son, after much solicitation, found no prospect of getting his due in the common mode of payment, and therefore turned his thoughts towards obtaining a grant of land in America, on which he might make the experiment of settling a colony, and establishing a government suited to his own principles and views.

Mr. Penn had been concerned with several other Quakers in purchasing of Lord

Berkeley his patent of West-Jersey, to make a settlement for their persecuted brethren in England, many of whom transported themselves thither, in hope of an exemption from the troubles which they had endured from the execution of the penal laws against Dissenters. But they found themselves subject to the arbitrary impositions of Sir Edmund Andros, who governed the Duke of York's territory, and exercised jurisdiction over all the settlements on both sides the Delaware. Penn and his associates remonstrated against his conduct, but their efforts proved ineffectual. However, the concern which Penn had in this purchase gave him not only a taste for speculating in landed interest, but a knowledge of the middle region of the American coasts; and being desirous of acquiring a separate estate, where he might realize his sanguine wishes, he had great advantage in making inquiry and determining on a place.

Having examined all the former grants to the companies of Virginia and New-England, the Lord Baltimore, and the Duke of York, he fixed upon a territory bounded on the east by the bay and river of Delaware, extending southward to Lord Baltimore's province of Maryland, westward as far as the

western extent of Maryland, and northward “as far as plantable.” For this he petitioned the king; and being examined before the privy council, on the 14th of June, concerning of those words of his petition “as far as plantable,” he declared “that he should be satisfied with the extent of *three degrees of latitude*; and that, in lieu of such a grant, he was willing to remit his debt from the crown, or *some part* of it, and to stay for the remainder till his majesty should be in a better condition to satisfy it.”

Notice of this application was given to the agents of the Duke of York and Lord Baltimore, and inquiry was made how far the pretensions of Penn might consist with the grants already made to them. The peninsula between the Bays of Chesapeake and Delaware had been planted by detached companies of Swedes, Finlanders, Dutch, and English. It was, first by force, and afterward by treaty, brought under the dominion of the crown of England. That part of it which bordered on the Delaware was within the Duke of York's patent, while that which joined on the Chesapeake was within the grant to Lord Baltimore.

The duke's agent consented that Penn

should have the land west of Delaware and north of Newcastle, "in consideration of the *reason* he had to expect *favour* from his majesty." Lord Baltimore's agent petitioned that Penn's grant might be expressed to lie north of Susquehannah Fort, and of a line drawn east and west from it, and that he might not be allowed to sell arms and ammunition to the Indians. To these restrictions Penn had no objection.

The draught of a charter being prepared, it was submitted to Lord-chief-justice North, who was ordered to provide by fit clauses for the interest of the king and the encouragement of the planters. While it was under consideration, the Bishop of London petitioned that Penn might be obliged by his patent to admit a chaplain of his lordship's appointment, at the request of any number of the planters. The giving a name to the province was left to the king.

The charter, consisting of twenty-three sections, "penned with all the appearance of candour and simplicity," was signed and sealed by King Charles II., on the fourth of March, 1681. It constitutes WILLIAM PENN and his heirs true and absolute proprietaries of the Province of PENNSYLVANIA, saving to

the crown their allegiance and the sovereignty. It gives him, his heirs, and their deputies, power to make laws "for the good and happy government of the country," by advice of the freemen, and to erect courts of justice for the execution of those laws, provided they be not repugnant to the laws of England. For the encouragement of planters, they were to enjoy the privileges of English subjects, paying the same duties in trade ; and no taxes were to be levied on them but by their own Assemblies, or by acts of Parliament. With respect to religion, no more is said than what the Bishop of London had suggested, that if twenty inhabitants should desire a preacher of his lordship's approbation, he should be allowed to reside in the province. This was perfectly agreeable to Mr. Penn's professed principles of liberty of conscience ; but it may seem rather extraordinary that this distinguished leader of a sect, who so pointedly denied the lawfulness of war, should accept the powers given him in the sixteenth article of the charter, "to levy, muster, and train all sorts of men, to pursue and vanquish enemies, to take and put them to death by the laws of war, and to do everything which belongeth to the office of CAPTAIN-GENERAL in

an army." Mr. Penn, for reasons of state, might find it convenient that he and his heirs should be thus invested with the power of the sword, though it was impossible for him or them to exercise it without first apostatizing from their religious profession.

The charter being thus obtained, he found himself authorized to agree with such persons as were disposed to be adventurers to his new province. By a public advertisement, he invited purchasers, and described the country, with a display of the advantages which might be expected from a settlement in it. This induced many single persons, and some families, chiefly of the denomination of Quakers, to think of a removal. A number of merchants and others formed themselves into a company, for the sake of encouraging the settlement and trade of the country, and purchased twenty thousand acres of his land. They had a president, treasurer, secretary, and a committee of twelve, who resided in England and transacted their common business. Their objects were to encourage the manufactures of leather and glass, the cutting and sawing of timber, and the whale-fishery.

The land was sold at the rate of twenty pounds for every thousand acres. They who

rented lands were to pay one penny yearly per acre. Servants, when their terms were expired, were entitled to fifty acres, subject to two shillings per annum; and their masters were allowed fifty acres for each servant so liberated, but subject to four shillings per annum; or, if the master should give the servant fifty acres out of his own division, he might receive from the proprietor one hundred acres, subject to six shillings per annum. In every hundred thousand acres, the proprietor reserved ten for himself.

The quit-rents were not agreed to without difficulty. The purchasers remonstrated against them as a burden, unprecedented in any other American colony. But Penn distinguished between the character of proprietor and governor, urging the necessity of supporting government with dignity, and that, by complying with this expedient, they would be freed from other taxes. Such distinctions are very convenient to a politician, and by this insinuation the point was carried: upon which it was remarked (perhaps too severely), that "less of the man of God now appeared, and more of the man of the world."

According to the powers given by the charter "for regulating and governing property

within the province," he entered into certain articles with the purchasers and adventurers (July 11, 1681), which were entitled "Conditions and Concessions." These related to the laying out roads, city and country lots; the privilege of water-courses; the property of mines and minerals; the reservation of timber and mulberry trees; the terms of improvement and cultivation; the traffic with the Indians, and the means of preserving peace with them; of preventing debtors and other defaulters from making their escape; and of preserving the morals of the planters, by the execution of the penal laws of England, till an Assembly should meet.

These preliminaries being adjusted, the first colony, under his authority, came over to America, and began their settlement above the confluence of the Schuylkill with the Delaware. By them the proprietor sent a letter to the Indians, informing them that "the GREAT GOD had been pleased to make him concerned in their part of the world, and that the *king* of the country where he lived had given him a great province therein; but that he did not desire to enjoy it without *their* consent; that he was a man of peace, and that the people whom he sent were of the

same disposition ; but if any difference should happen between them, it might be adjusted by an equal number of men on both sides." With this letter he appointed commissioners to treat with the Indians about purchasing land, and promised that he would shortly come and converse with them in person.

About this time (Nov., 1681) he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society.

The next spring he completed a frame of government (April 25, 1682), with the express design "to support power in reverence with the people, and to secure the people from the abuse of power." It is prefaced with a long discourse on the nature, origin, use and abuse of government ; which shows that he had not only well studied the subject, but that he was fond of displaying his knowledge.

By this frame of government there was to be a Provincial Council, consisting of *seventy-two* persons, answering to the number of elders in the Jewish sanhedrim, who were to be divided into three classes : twenty-four to serve for three years, twenty-four for two years, and twenty-four for one year ; the vacancies thus made to be supplied by new elections ; and after seven years, every one

of those who went off yearly were to be incapable of re-election for one year following. This rotation was intended "that *all* might be fitted for government, and have experience of the care and burden of it." Of this council two thirds were to be a quorum, and the consent of two thirds of this quorum was to be had in all matters of moment ; but in matters of lesser moment one third might be a quorum, the majority of whom might determine. The distinction between matters of moment and of lesser moment was not defined, nor was it declared who was to be judge of the distinction. The governor was not to have a negative, but a treble voice. The Council were to prepare and propose bills to the General Assembly, which were to be published thirty days before its meeting. When met, the Assembly might deliberate eight days, but on the ninth were to give their assent or dissent to the proposed bills : two thirds of them to be a quorum. With respect to the number of the Assembly, it was provided that the first year *all* the freemen in person might compose it ; afterward a delegation of two hundred, which might be increased to five hundred. The governor, with the Council, to be the supreme executive,

with a parental and prudential authority, and to be divided into four departments of eighteen each ; one of which was called a committee of plantations, another of justice and safety, another of trade and revenue, and another of manners, education, and arts.

To this frame of government was subjoined a body of fundamental laws, agreed upon by Penn and the adventurers in London, which respected moral, political, and economical matters ; which were not to be altered but by the consent of the governor or his heirs, and six parts in seven of the freemen, met in Provincial Council and Assembly. In this code we find that celebrated declaration, which has contributed more than anything else to the prosperity of Pennsylvania, viz., “ That all persons living in the province who confess and acknowledge the ONE almighty and eternal GOD to be the creator, upholder, and ruler of the world, and hold themselves obliged in conscience to live peaceably and justly in civil society, shall in no ways be molested for their religious persuasion or practice in matters of faith and worship, nor shall they be *compelled* at any time to frequent or maintain any religious worship, place, or ministry whatever.” To which was added

another equally conducive to the welfare of society: "That, according to the good example of the primitive Christians, *and the case of the creation*, every first day of the week, called the Lord's Day, people shall abstain from their common daily labour, that they may the better dispose themselves to worship God according to their understandings."

These laws were an original compact between the governor and the freemen of the colony. They appear to be founded in wisdom and equity, and some of them have been copied into the declarations of rights prefixed to several of the present republican constitutions in America. The system of government which Penn produced has been regarded as a Utopian project; but, though in some parts visionary and impracticable, yet it was liberal and popular, calculated to gain adventurers with a prospect of republican advantages. Some of its provisions, particularly the rotation of the council, have been adopted by a very enlightened body of American legislators, after the expiration of a century. The experiment is now in operation, and without experiment nothing can be fairly decided in the political any more than in the physical world.

Having, by the help of Sir William Jones and other gentlemen of the long robe, constructed a plan of government for his colony, Mr. Penn prepared to make the voyage to America, that he might attempt the execution of it.

A part of the lands comprehended within his grant had been subject to the government which was exercised by the deputy of the Duke of York. To prevent any difficulty, he thought it convenient to obtain from the duke a deed of sale of the Province of Pennsylvania, which he did on the 21st of August, 1682; and, by two subsequent deeds in the same month, the duke conveyed to him the town of Newcastle, situate on the western side of the Delaware, with a circle of twelve miles radius from the centre of the town, and from thence extending southerly to the Hoar Kills, at Cape Henlopen, the western point of the entrance of Delaware Bay, which tract contained the settlements made by the Dutch, Swedes, and Finns. This was called *the Territory*, in distinction from *the Province* of Pennsylvania, and was divided into three counties, Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex.

At this time the penal laws against Dissent-
III.—U

ers were executed with rigour in England, which made many of the Quakers desirous of accompanying or following Penn into America, where they had a prospect of the most extensive liberty of conscience. Having chosen some for his particular companions, he embarked with them in August, 1682; and from the Downs, where the ship lay waiting for a wind, he wrote an affectionate letter to his friends, which he called "a farewell to England." After a pleasant passage of six weeks they came within sight of the American coast, and were refreshed by the land breezes at the distance of twelve leagues. As the ship sailed up the Delaware, the inhabitants came on board, and saluted their new governor with an air of joy and satisfaction. He landed at Newcastle, and summoned the people to meet him, when possession of the soil was given him in the legal form of that day, and he entertained them with a speech, explaining the purpose of his coming and the views of his government, assuring them of his intention to preserve civil and religious liberty, and exhorting them to peace and sobriety. Having renewed the commissions of their former magistrates, he went to Chester, where he repeated the same things, and received

their congratulations. The Swedes appointed a delegate to compliment him on his arrival, and to assure him of their affection and fidelity.

At this time the number of inhabitants was about three thousand. The first planters were the Dutch, and after them the Swedes and Finns. There had been formerly disputes among them, but for above twenty years they had been in a state of peace. The Dutch were settled on the bay, and applied themselves chiefly to trade. At Newcastle they had a courthouse and a place of worship. The Swedes and Finns lived higher up the river, and followed husbandry. Their settlements were Christina, Tenecum, and Wicoco, at each of which they had a church. They were a plain, robust, sober, and industrious people, and most of them had large families. The colony which Penn had sent over the year before began their settlement above Wicoco, and it was, by special direction of the proprietor, called PHILADELPHIA. The province was divided into three counties, Chester, Buckingham, and Philadelphia.

Three principal objects engaged the attention of Mr. Penn: one was to unite the terri-

tory with the province; another was to enter into a treaty with the Indians; and a third was to lay out a capital city.

The first was entered upon immediately. Within a month after his arrival he called a General Assembly at Chester, when the constitution, which had been formed in England, was to undergo an experiment. The freemen both of the province and territory were summoned to compose this Assembly *in person*. Instead of which they elected twelve members in each county, amounting in all to seventy-two, the precise number which, by the frame of government, was to compose *one* house only. The elections were accompanied by petitions to the governor, importing "that the fewness of the people, their inability in estate, and unskilfulness in government, would not permit them to serve in so large a council and assembly, and therefore it was their desire that the twelve now returned from each county might serve both for Provincial Council and General Assembly, with the same powers and privileges which by the charter were granted to the whole."

The members were accordingly distributed into two houses; three out of each county made a Council, consisting of eighteen, and

the remaining part formed an Assembly of fifty-four. In this Assembly was passed "the act of settlement," in which the frame of government made in England, being styled a *probationary act*, was so far changed as that three persons of each county might compose the Council and *six* the Assembly. After several other "variations, explanations, and additions" requested by the Assembly and yielded to by the governor, the aforesaid charter and frame of government was "recognised and accepted, as if with these alterations it was supposed to be complete." The Assembly is styled "the General Assembly of the *Province* of Pennsylvania and the *territories* thereunto belonging."

Thus the lower counties at this time manifested their willingness to be *united* with the province of Pennsylvania; but the proprietor had not received from the crown any right of jurisdiction over that territory, though the duke had sold him the right of soil, and it was not in the power of the people, as subjects of the King of England, to put themselves under any form of government without the royal authority. The want of this, with the operation of other causes, produced difficulties which afterward rendered this union

void; and the three lower counties had a separate Assembly, though under the same governor.

Mr. Penn's next object was to treat with the natives. The benevolence of his disposition led him to exercise great tenderness towards them, which was much increased by an opinion which he had formed, and which he openly avowed, that they were descendants of the ten dispersed tribes of Israel. He travelled into the country, visited them in their cabins, was present at their feasts, conversed with them in a free and familiar manner, and gained their affections by his obliging carriage, and his frequent acts of generosity. But on public occasions he received them with ceremony, and transacted business with solemnity and order.

In one of his excursions in the winter he found a chief warrior sick, and his wife preparing to sweat him, in the usual manner, by pouring water on a heap of hot stones, in a closely covered hut, and then plunging him into the river, through a hole cut in the ice. To divert himself during the sweating operation, the chief sang the achievements of his ancestors, then his own, and concluded his song with this reflection: "Why are we sick,

and these strangers well? It seems as if they were sent to inherit the land in our stead! Ah! it is because they love the *Great Spirit*, and we do not!" The sentiment was rational, and such as often occurred to the sagacious among the natives. We cannot suppose it was disagreeable to Mr. Penn, whose view was to impress them with an idea of his honest and pacific intentions, and to make a fair bargain with them.

Some of their chiefs made him a voluntary present of the land which they claimed, others sold it at a stipulated price. The form of one of these treaties is thus described, in a letter which he wrote to his friends in England. "The king sat in the middle of a half moon, and had his council, old and wise, on each hand. Behind, at a little distance, sat the young ones, in the same figure. Having consulted and resolved the business, the king ordered one of them to speak to me. He stood up, came to me, took me by the hand, saluted me in the name of the king, told me he was ordered by the king to speak to me, and that now it was not he that spoke, but the king, because what he should say was the king's mind. [Having made an apology for their delay,] he fell to the bounds of the land

they had to dispose of, and the price, which is now dear, that which would once have bought twenty miles not now buying two. During the time this person was speaking, not a man of them was observed to whisper or smile. When the purchase was agreed, great promises passed between us of kindness and good neighbourhood, and that the English and Indians must live in love as long as the sun gave light. Which done, another made a speech to the Indians in the name of all the sachems, first to tell them what was done, next to charge them to love the Christians, to live in peace with me and my people, and that they should never do me or my people any wrong ; at every sentence of which they shouted and said Amen in their way. The pay or presents I made them were not hoarded by the particular owners, but, the neighbouring kings and their clans being present when the goods were brought out, the parties chiefly concerned consulted what and to whom they should give them. To every king, then, by the hands of a person for that work appointed, was a proportion sent, sorted and folded, with that gravity which is admirable. Then that king subdivided it in like manner among his dependants, they hardly leaving themselves an equal share with one of their subjects."

Mr. Penn was so happy as to succeed in his endeavours to gain the good-will of the Indians. They have frequently, in subsequent treaties many years after, expressed great veneration for his memory; and to perpetuate it, they have given to the successive governors of Pennsylvania the name of *Onas*, which signifies *a Pen*. By this name they are commonly known and addressed in the speeches made by the Six Nations in all their treaties.

One part of his agreement with the Indians was, that they should sell no lands to any person but to himself or his agents; another was, that his agents should not occupy nor grant any lands but those which were fairly purchased of the Indians. These stipulations were confirmed by subsequent acts of Assembly; and every bargain made between private persons and the Indians without leave of the proprietor was declared void. The charter which Mr. Penn had obtained of the crown comprehended a far greater extent of territory than it was proper for him at first to purchase of the natives.

He did not think it for his interest to take any more at once than he had a prospect of granting away to settlers. But his colony

increased beyond his expectation; and when new tracts were wanted, the Indians rose in their demands. His first purchases were made at his own expense; and the goods delivered on these occasions went by the name of *presents*. In course of time, when a treaty and a purchase went on together, the governor and his successors made the speeches, and the Assembly were at the expense of the presents. When one paid the cost and the other enjoyed the profit, a subject of altercation arose between the proprietary and the popular interests, which other causes contributed to increase and inflame.

The purchases which Mr. Penn made of the Indians were undoubtedly fair and honest, and he is entitled to praise for his wise and honourable conduct towards them. But there is such a thing as overrating true merit. He has been celebrated by a late author* as having in these purchases “set an example of moderation and justice in America which was never thought of before by the Europeans.” It had been a common thing in New-England, for fifty years before his time, to make fair and regular purchases of land from the Indians, and many of their

* Abbe Raynal.

deeds are preserved in the public records. As early as 1633, a law was enacted in the colony of Massachusetts that "no person shall put any of the Indians from their planting grounds or fishing places; and that, upon complaint and proof thereof, they shall have relief in any of the courts of justice, as the English have." To prevent frauds in private bargains, it was ordered by the same act that "no person shall buy land of any Indian without license first had and obtained of the general court." Other regulations respecting traffic with them were made at the same time, which bear the appearance, not only of justice and moderation, but of a parental regard to their interest and property.

Nor is it to be supposed that other Europeans neglected their duty in these respects. Several purchases were made before Penn's time in New-Jersey. Mr. Penn himself, in one of his letters, speaking of the quarrels between the Dutch and the Swedes, who had occupied the lands on the Delaware before him, says, "The Dutch, who were the first planters, looked on them [the Swedes] as intruders on their *purchase* and possession." Of whom could the Dutch have purchased those lands but of the natives? They could

not have occupied them without the consent of the Indians, who were very numerous, and could easily have extirpated them, or prevented their settlement. It is probable that this Dutch purchase is referred to in that part of Penn's letter before quoted, where he speaks of the land at that time (1683) as "*dearer*" than formerly, for how could this have been ascertained but by comparing his with former purchases?

It may then be proper to consider Mr. Penn as having followed the "examples of justice and moderation" which had been set by former Europeans in their conduct towards the natives of America, and as having united his example with theirs for the imitation of succeeding adventurers. This will give us the true idea of his merit, without detracting from the respect due to those who preceded him in the arduous work of colonizing America.

Mr. Penn easily foresaw that the situation of his province, and the liberal encouragement which he had given to settlers, would draw people of all denominations thither, and render it a place of commerce; he therefore determined to lay the plan of a capital city, which, in conformity to his catholic and pa-

cific ideas, he called PHILADELPHIA. The site of it was a neck of land between the River Delaware on the east, and the Schuylkill (*Hiding Creek*), a branch on the west; and he designed that the city should extend from one to the other, the distance being two miles. This spot was chosen on account of the firm soil, the gentle rising from each river towards the midst, the numerous springs, the convenience of coves capable of being used as docks, the depth of water for ships of burden, and the good anchorage. The ground was surveyed, and a plan of the intended city was drawn by Thomas Holme, surveyor general. Ten streets, of two miles in length, were laid out from river to river, and twenty streets of one mile in length, crossing them at right angles. Four squares were reserved for common purposes, one in each quarter of the city, and in the centre, on the most elevated spot, was a large square of ten acres, in which were to be built a statehouse, a market-house, a schoolhouse, and a place of worship. On the side of each river it was intended to build wharves and warehouses, and from each front street nearest to the rivers, an open space was to be left, in the descent to the shores, which would have added much to the beauty of the

city. All owners of one thousand acres were entitled to a city lot, in the front streets or in the central high street, and before each house was to be an open court, planted with rows of trees. Smaller purchasers were to be accommodated in the other streets; and care was taken in all, that no building should encroach on the street lines. This last regulation has been always attended to, though in some other respects the plan has been either disregarded or not completed.

The city was begun in 1682, and within less than a year "eighty houses and cottages were built, wherein merchants and mechanics exercised their respective occupations;" and they soon found the country around them so well cultivated by the planters as to afford them bread and vegetables, while the venison, fowl, and fish made an agreeable variety with the salted provisions which they imported. Penn himself writes, with an air of cheerfulness, that he was well contented with the country, and the entertainment which he found in it. This letter is among his printed works, and in the same collection we find an affectionate address to the people of Pennsylvania; in it he appears to have a tender concern for their moral and religious improve-

ment, and warns them against the temptations to which they were exposed. Their circumstances were indeed peculiar; they had suffered contempt and persecution in England, and were now at rest; in the enjoyment of liberty, under a popular form of government; the eyes of the world were upon them; their former enemies were watching their conduct, and would have been glad of an opportunity to reproach them; it was therefore his desire that they should be moderate in prosperity, as they had been patient in adversity. The concluding words of this address may give us a specimen of his style and manner of preaching: "My friends, remember that the Lord hath brought you upon the stage; he hath now tried you with liberty, yea, and with power; he hath put precious opportunities into your hands; have a care of a perverse spirit, and do not provoke the Lord by doing those things by which the inhabitants of the land that were before you grieved his spirit;* but sanctify God, the living God, in your hearts, that his blessing may fall and rest as the dew of heaven on you and your offspring. Then shall it be seen

* Probably alluding to the ten tribes of Israel, from whom he supposes the Indians to be descended.

to the nations that there is no enchantment against Jacob, nor divination against Israel; but your tents shall be goodly, and your dwellings glorious.”

In the spring of 1683, a second Assembly was held in the new city of Philadelphia, and a great number of laws were passed. Among other good regulations, it was enacted that, to prevent lawsuits, three arbitrators, called peace-makers, should be chosen by every County Court, to hear and determine small differences between man and man. This Assembly granted to the governor an impost on certain goods exported and imported, which he, after acknowledging their goodness, was pleased, for the encouragement of the traders, “freely to remit.” But the most distinguished act of this Assembly was their acceptance of another frame of government which the proprietor had devised, which was “in part conformed to the first, in part modified according to the act of settlement, and in part essentially different from both.” The most material alterations were the reducing the number of the Assembly from seventy-two to fifty-four, and the giving the governor a negative in lieu of a treble voice in acts of legislation. Their “thankful” acceptance of

this second charter was a proof of his great ascendancy over them, and the confidence which they placed in him ; but these changes were regarded by some as a departure from the principles on which the original compact was grounded.

The state of the province at this time has been compared to that of “a father and his family ; the latter united by interest and affection, the former revered for the wisdom of his institutions and the indulgent use of his authority. Those who were ambitious of repose found it in Pennsylvania ; and, as none returned with an evil report of the land, numbers followed. All partook of the leaven which they found : the community wore the same equal face : no one aspired, no one was oppressed : industry was sure of profit, knowledge of esteem, and virtue of veneration.” When we contemplate this agreeable picture, we cannot but lament that Mr. Penn should ever have quitted his province ; but, after residing in it about two years, he found himself urged, by motives of interest as well as philanthropy, to return to England. At his departure in the summer of 1684, his capital city, then only of two years’ standing, contained nearly three hundred houses and two

thousand inhabitants; besides which there were twenty other settlements begun, including those of the Dutch and Swedes. He left the administration of government in the hands of the Council and Assembly, having appointed five commissioners to preside in his place.

The motives of his return to England were two. A controversy with Lord Baltimore, the proprietor of Maryland, concerning the limits of their respective patents, and a concern for his brethren, who were suffering by the operation of the penal laws against dissenters from the Established Church.

The controversy with Lord Baltimore originated in this manner. Before Penn came to America, he had written to James Frisby and others, at their plantations on Delaware Bay, then reputed a part of Maryland, advising them that, as he was confident they were in his limits, they should yield no obedience to the laws of Maryland. This warning served as a pretext to some of the inhabitants of Cecil and Baltimore counties, who were impatient of control, to withhold the payment of their rents and taxes. Lord Baltimore and his council ordered the military officers to assist the sheriffs in the exe-

cution of their duty, which was accomplished, though with great difficulty. After this, Markham, Penn's agent, had a meeting with Lord Baltimore at the village of Upland, which is now called Chester, where a discovery was made by a quadrant that the place was twelve miles south of the 40th degree of latitude, a circumstance before unknown to both parties. Baltimore therefore concluded to derive an advantage from precision, while Penn wished to avail himself of uncertainty. After Penn's arrival in America, he visited Lord Baltimore, and had a conference with him on the subject. An account of this conference, taken in short-hand by a person present, with a statement of the matter in debate, were sent by Lord Baltimore to England, and laid before the lords of trade and plantations in April, 1683. Upon which, letters were written to both, advising them to come to an amicable agreement. This could not be done; and therefore they both went to England, and laid their respective complaints before the Board of Trade. Baltimore alleged that the tract in question was within the limits of his charter, and had always been so understood, and his claim allowed until disturbed by Penn. The words of his char-

ter were, "to that part of Delaware Bay on the north, which lies under the 40th degree of northerly latitude from the equinoctial." Penn, on the other hand, affirmed that Lord Baltimore's grant was of lands not inhabited by the subjects of any Christian prince ;" that the land in question was possessed by the Dutch and Swedes prior to the date of the charter of Maryland; that a surrender having been made by the Dutch of this territory to King Charles in 1664, the country had ever since been in possession of the Duke of York. The lords at several meetings, having examined the evidences on both sides, were of opinion that the lands bordering on the Delaware did not belong to Lord Baltimore, but to the king. They then proceeded to settle the boundary, and on the 7th of November, 1685, it was determined that, "for avoiding farther differences, the tract of land lying between the river and bay of Delaware and the eastern sea on the one side, and Chesapeake Bay on the other side, be divided into two equal parts by a line from the latitude of Cape Henlopen to the 40th degree of northern latitude, and that one half thereof, lying towards the Bay of Delaware and the eastern sea, be adjudged to belong to his ma-

jesty, and that the other half remain to the Lord Baltimore, as comprised within his charter." To this decision Lord Baltimore submitted, happy that he had lost no more, since a quo warranto had been issued against his charter. But the decision, like many others, left room for a farther controversy, which was carried on by their respective successors for above half a century. The question was concerning the construction of the "40th degree of latitude," which Penn's heirs contended was the *beginning*, and Baltimore's the *completion* of the 40th degree, the difference being sixty-nine miles and a half.*

The other cause of Mr. Penn's departure for England proved a source of much greater vexation, and involved consequences injurious to his reputation and interest. His concern for his suffering brethren induced him to use the interest which he had at court for their relief. He arrived in the month of August, and the death of Charles, which happened the next February, brought to the throne James II., under whom, when lord-high-ad-

* For the particulars of this controversy, and its final decision by Lord-chancellor Hardwicke in 1750, the reader is referred to Douglas's Summary, ii., 309, and Vesey's Reports, i., 444.

miral, Penn's father had commanded, and who had always maintained a steady friendship with the son. This succession rather increased than diminished his attachment to the court; but as James openly professed himself a papist, and the prejudices of a great part of the nation against him were very high, it was impossible for his intimate friends to escape the imputation of being popishly affected. Penn had before been suspected to be a Jesuit, and what now contributed to fix the stigma upon him was his writing a book on liberty of conscience, a darling principle at court, and vindicating the Duke of Buckingham, who had written on the same subject. Another circumstance which strengthened the suspicion was his taking lodgings at Kensington, in the neighbourhood of the court, and his frequent attendance there, to solicit the liberation of his brethren who now filled the prisons of the kingdom.

He endeavoured to allay these suspicions by publishing an address to his brethren, in which he refers to their knowledge of his character, principles, and writings, for eighteen years past, and expresses his love of moderation, and his wish that the nation might not become "barbarous for Christiani-

ty, nor abuse one another for God's sake." But what gave him the greatest pain was, that his worthy friend Doctor Tillotson had entertained the same suspicion, and expressed it in his conversation. To him he wrote an expostulatory letter, and the doctor frankly owned to him the ground of his apprehension, which Penn so fully removed that Doctor Tillotson candidly acknowledged his mistake, and made it his business on all occasions to vindicate Penn's character.* This ingenuous acknowledgment, from a gentleman of so much information, and so determined an enemy to popery, is one of the best evidences which can be had of Mr. Penn's integrity in this respect; but the current of popular prejudice was at that time so strong, that it was not in the power of so great and good a man as Doctor Tillotson to turn it.

Had Mr. Penn fallen in with the discontented part of the nation, and encouraged the emigration of those who dreaded the consequences of King James's open profession of popery, he might have made large additions to the numbers of his colonists, and greatly

* These letters, which do honour to both the writers, are printed in the first volume of Penn's works, and in the *Biographia Britannica* under the article PENN.

increased his fortune ; but he had received such assurances from the king of his intention to introduce *universal toleration*, that he thought it his duty to wait for the enlargement which his brethren must experience from the expected event. His book on liberty of conscience, addressed to the king and council, had not been published many days before the king issued a general pardon, and instructed the judges of assize on their respective circuits to extend the benefit of it to the Quakers in particular. In consequence of this, about thirteen hundred of them, who had been confined in the prisons, were set at liberty. This was followed by a declaration for liberty of conscience, and for suspending the execution of the penal laws against Dissenters, which was an occasion of great joy to all denominations of them. The Quakers, at their next general meeting, drew up an address of thanks to the king, which was presented by Mr. Penn.

The declaration of indulgence, being a specimen of that dispensing power which the house of Stuart were fond of assuming, and being evidently intended to favour the free exercise of the popish religion, gave an alarm to the nation, and caused very severe cen-

sures on those who, having felt the benefit of it, had expressed their gratitude in terms of affection and respect. The Quakers in particular became very obnoxious, and the prejudice against Penn as an abettor of the arbitrary maxims of the court was increased; though, on a candid view of the matter, there is no evidence that he sought anything more than an impartial and universal liberty of conscience.*

It is much to be regretted that he had not taken this critical opportunity to return to Pennsylvania. His controversy with Lord Baltimore had been decided by the council, and his pacific principle ought to have led him to acquiesce in their determination, as did his antagonist. He had accomplished his purpose with regard to his brethren the Quakers, who, being delivered from their difficulties, were at liberty either to remain in the kingdom, or follow him to America. The

* "If a universal charity, if the asserting an impartial liberty of conscience, if doing to others as one would be done by, and an open avowing and steady practising of these things, in all times and to all parties, will justly lay a man under the reflection of being a Jesuit or papist, I must not only submit to the character, but embrace it; and I can bear it with more pleasure than it is possible for them with any justice to give it to me."—Penn's Let. to Sec. Popple, Oct. 24, 1688.

state of the province was such as to require his presence, and he might at this time have resumed his office, and carried on his business in Pennsylvania, with the greatest probability of spending the remainder of his days there in usefulness and peace.

The revolution which soon followed placed him in a very disagreeable situation. Having been a friend to James, he was supposed to be an enemy to William. As he was walking one day in Whitehall, he was arrested and examined by the Lords in council, before whom he solemnly declared "that he loved his country and the Protestant religion above his life, and that he had never acted against either ; but that King James had been his friend and his father's friend, and that he thought himself bound in justice and gratitude to be a friend to him." The jealous policy of that day had no ear for sentiments of the heart. He was obliged to find securities for his appearance at the next term, and thence to the succeeding term, in the last day of which, nothing having been specifically laid to his charge, he was acquitted.*

* [We find a notice of this affair in the *Ellis Correspondence* (ii., 356), in a letter dated Dec. 13, 1688. "Mr. Penn was brought before the Lords at Whitehall, who were prevailed upon to make £6000 bail for him."—H.]

The next year (1690) he was taken up again, on suspicion of holding correspondence with the exiled king. The Lords required securities for his appearance; he appealed to King William in person, who was inclined to acquit him; but, to please some of the council, he was for a while held to bail, and then acquitted.

Soon after this, his name was inserted in a proclamation, wherein eighteen lords and others were charged with adhering to the enemies of the kingdom; but no evidence appearing against him, he was a third time acquitted by the Court of King's Bench.

Being now at liberty, he meditated a return to Pennsylvania, and published proposals for another emigration of settlers. He had proceeded so far as to obtain from the secretary of state an order for a convoy; but his voyage was prevented by a fourth accusation, on the oath of a person whom the Parliament afterward declared a cheat and impostor; a warrant was issued for apprehending him, and he narrowly escaped an arrest at his return from the funeral of his friend George Fox, on the 16th of January, 1691. He then thought it prudent to retire, and accordingly kept himself concealed for two or

three years, during which time he employed himself in writing several pieces, one of which, entitled "Maxims and Reflections relating to the Conduct of Human Life," being the result of much observation and experience, has been much celebrated, and has passed through several editions. In 1693, by the mediation of several persons of rank, he was admitted to appear before the king in council, where he so maintained his innocence of what had been alleged against him that he was a *fourth* time honourably acquitted.

The true cause of these frequent suspicions was the conduct of his wife, who, being passionately attached to the queen consort of James, made a practice to visit her at St. Germain's every year, and to carry to her such presents as she could collect from the friends of the unhappy royal family. Though there was no political connexion or correspondence between Penn's family and the king's, yet this circumstance gave colour to the jealousy which had been conceived; but the death of his wife, which happened in February, 1694, put an end to all these suspicions. He married a second wife in 1696, a daughter of Thomas Callowhill, of Bristol, by whom he had four sons and one daughter.

By his continual expenses, and by the peculiar difficulties to which he had been exposed, he had run himself deeply into debt. He had lost £7000 before the revolution, and £4000 since, besides his paternal estate in Ireland, valued at £450 per annum. To repair his fortune, he requested his friends in Pennsylvania that one hundred of them would lend him £100 each, for some years, on landed security. This, he said, would enable him to return to America, and bring a large number of inhabitants with him. What answer was given to this request does not appear; but, from his remaining in England six or seven years after, it may be concluded that he received no encouragement of this kind from them. The low circumstances of the first settlers must have rendered it impossible to comply with such a request.

Pennsylvania had experienced many inconveniences from his absence. The Provincial Council, having no steady hand to hold the balance, had fallen into a controversy respecting their several powers and privileges, and Moore, one of the proprietary officers, had been impeached of high misdemeanours. Disgusted with their disputes, and dissatisfied with the Constitution which he

had framed and altered, Penn wrote to his commissioners (1686) to require its dissolution; but the Assembly, perceiving the loss of their privileges, and of the rights of the people to be involved in frequent innovations, opposed the surrender. The commissioners themselves were soon after removed by the proprietor, who appointed for his deputy John Blackwell, an officer trained under Cromwell, and completely versed in the arts of intrigue. He began his administration in December, 1688, by a display of the power of the proprietor, and by endeavouring to sow discord among the freemen. Unawed by his insolence, they were firm in defence of their privileges, while at the same time they made a profession of peace and obedience. He imprisoned the speaker of the Assembly which had impeached Moore, and, by a variety of artifices, evaded the granting an *habeas corpus*. He delayed as long as possible the meeting of a new Assembly; and when they entered on the subject of grievances, he prevailed on some of the members to withdraw from their seats, that there might not be a quorum. The remainder voted that his conduct was treacherous, and a strong prejudice was conceived not only against the

deputy, but the proprietor who had appointed him. The province also fell under the royal displeasure. The laws had not been presented for approbation, and the new king and queen were not proclaimed in Pennsylvania for a long time after their accession ; but the administration of government was continued in the name of the exiled monarch. At what time the alteration was made we cannot be certain ; but in the year 1692 the king and queen took the government of the colony into their own hands, and appointed Colonel Fletcher governor of New-York and Pennsylvania, with equal powers and prerogatives in both, without any reference to the charter of Pennsylvania.

It being a time of war between England and France, and the Province of New-York being much exposed to the incursions of the Indians in the French interest, the principal object which Fletcher had in view was to procure supplies for the defence of the country, and the support of those Indians who were in alliance with the English. The Assembly insisted on a confirmation of their laws as a condition of their granting a supply, to which he consented *during the king's pleasure*. They would have gone farther,

and demanded a redress of grievances; but Fletcher having intimated to them that the king might probably annex them to New-York, and they, knowing themselves unable to maintain a controversy with the crown, submitted for the present to hold their liberties by courtesy, and voted a supply. On another application of the same kind, they nominated collectors in their bill, which he deemed inconsistent with his prerogative, and after some altercations dissolved them.

In 1696, William Markham, deputy-governor under Fletcher, made a similar proposal, but could obtain no supply till an expedient was contrived to save their privileges. A temporary act of settlement was passed, subject to the confirmation of the proprietor, and then a grant was made of three hundred pounds; but, as they had been represented by some at New-York as having acted inconsistently with their principles in granting money to maintain a war, they appropriated this grant to "the relief of those friendly Indians who had suffered by the war." The request was repeated every year, as long as the war continued; but the infancy, poverty, and embarrassments of the province were alleged for non-compliance. The peace of

Ryswick, in 1698, put an end to these requisitions.

Thus the Province of Pennsylvania, as well as its proprietor, experienced many inconveniences during their long separation of fifteen years; and it is somewhat singular to remark, that while they were employed in an ineffectual struggle with the royal governor and his deputy, he, whom Montesquieu styles the American Lycurgus, was engaged in his darling work of religious controversy, and of itinerant preaching through England, Wales, and Ireland.

In August, 1699, he embarked with his family, and, after a tedious passage of three months, arrived in Pennsylvania. By reason of this long voyage, they escaped a pestilential distemper which during that time raged in the colony.

He did not find the people so tractable as before. Their minds were soured by his long absence, by the conduct of his deputies and the royal governors; their system of laws was incomplete, and their title to their lands insecure. After much time spent in trying their tempers and penetrating their views, he found it most advisable to listen to their remonstrances. Five sessions of Assembly were

held during his second residence with them; his expressions in his public speeches were soothing and captivating, and he promised to do everything in his power to render them happy. They requested of him that, in case of his future absence, he would appoint for his deputies men of integrity and *property*, who should be invested with full powers to grant and confirm lands, and instructed to give true measure, and that he would execute such an instrument as would secure their privileges and possessions. To these requests he seemed to consent, and with the most flattering complaisance desired them to name a person for his substitute, which they with equal politeness declined.

In May, 1700, the charter was surrendered by six parts in seven of the Assembly, under a solemn promise of restitution, with such alterations and amendments as should be found necessary. When a new charter was in debate, the representatives of the lower counties wanted to obtain some privileges peculiar to themselves, which the others were not willing to allow. The members from the territory, therefore, refused to join, and thus a separation was made of the Province of Pennsylvania from the three lower counties

In this new charter the people had no voice in the election of counsellors ; whoever afterward served in this capacity were appointed by the proprietor, but they had no power of legislation. The executive was vested solely in him, and he had a negative on all their laws. On the other hand, the Assembly had the right of originating laws, which before had been prepared for their deliberation. The number of members was four from each county, and more, if the governor and Assembly should agree. They were invested with all the powers of a legislative body, according to the rights of English subjects and the practice of other American colonies. The privileges before granted were confirmed, and some of their most salutary laws were included in the body of the charter ; all which were declared irrevocable, except by consent of six sevenths of the Assembly with the governor ; but the clause respecting liberty of conscience was declared absolutely irrevocable. A provisional article was added, that if in three years the representatives of the province and territories should not join in legislation, each county of the province might choose eight persons, and the city of Philadelphia two, to represent them in one Assembly, and

each county of the territory the same number to constitute another Assembly. On the 28th of October, 1701, this charter was accepted by the representatives of the province; previous to which (*viz.*, on the 25th), the city of Philadelphia was incorporated by another charter, and the government of it committed to a mayor and recorder, eight aldermen, and twelve common councilmen. The persons in each of these offices were appointed by name in the charter, who were empowered to choose successors to themselves annually, and to add to the number of aldermen and common councilmen so many of the freemen as the whole court should think proper.

These two charters were the last public acts of Mr. Penn's personal administration in Pennsylvania. They were done in haste, and while he was preparing to re-embark for England, which he did immediately on signing them. The cause of his sudden departure was an account which he had received that a bill was about to be brought into Parliament for reducing the proprietary and chartered governments to an immediate dependence on the crown. In his speech to the Assembly, he intimated his intention to return and settle among them with his family; but

this proved to be his last visit to America. He sailed from Philadelphia in the end of October, and arrived in England about the middle of December, 1701. The bill in Parliament, which had so greatly alarmed him, was, by the solicitation of the friends of the colonies, postponed, and finally lost. In about two months King William died, and Queen Anne came to the throne, which brought Penn again into favour at court; and in the name of the society of which he was at the head, he presented to her an address of congratulation.

He then resumed his favourite employment of writing, preaching, and visiting the societies of Friends in England till the year 1707, when he found himself involved in a suit at law with the executors of a person who had formerly been his steward. The cause was attended with such circumstances that, though many thought him ill used, the Court of Chancery did not give him relief, which obliged him to live within the rules of the Fleet Prison for about a year, till the matter was accommodated. After this he made another circuitous journey among his friends, and in the year 1710 took a handsome seat at Rushcombe, in Buckinghamshire, where he resided during the remainder of his life.

At his departure from Philadelphia he left for his deputy Andrew Hamilton, whose principal business was to endeavour a reunion of the province and territory, which being ineffectual, the province claimed the privilege of a distinct Assembly.

On Mr. Hamilton's death, John Evans was appointed in 1704 to succeed him. His administration was one unvaried scene of controversy and uneasiness. The territory would have received the charter, and the governor warmly recommended a union, but the province would not hearken to the measure. They drew up a statement of their grievances, and transmitted to the proprietor a long and bitter remonstrance, in which they charge him with not performing his promises, but by deep-laid artifices evading them; and with neglecting to get their laws confirmed, though he had received great sums of money to negotiate the business. They took a retrospective view of his whole conduct, and particularly blamed his long absence from 1684 to 1699, during which the interest of the province was sinking, which might have been much advanced if he had come over according to his repeated promises. They complained that he had not affixed his

seal to the last charter ; that he had ordered his deputy to call assemblies by his writ, and to prorogue and dissolve them at his pleasure ; that he had reserved to himself, though in England, an assent to bills passed by his deputy, by which means three negatives were put on their acts, one by the deputy-governor, another by the proprietor, and a third by the crown. They also added to their list of grievances the abuses and extortions of the secretary, surveyor, and other officers, which might have been prevented if he had passed a bill proposed by the Assembly in 1701, for regulating fees ; the want of an established judicature between him and the people : for the judges being appointed by him, could not in that case be considered as independent and unbiassed ; the imposition of quit-rents on the city lots, and leaving the ground on which the city was built encumbered with the claim of its first possessors, the Swedes.

The language of this remonstrance was plain and unreserved, but the mode of their conducting it was attended with a degree of prudence and delicacy which is not commonly observed by public bodies of men in such circumstances. They sent it to him privately, by a confidential person, and refused to

give any copy of it, though strongly urged. They were willing to reclaim the proprietor to a due sense of his obligations, but were equally unwilling to expose him. They had also some concern for themselves; for if it had been publicly known that they had such objections to his conduct, the breach might have been so widened as to dissolve the relation between them; in which case certain inconveniences might have arisen respecting oaths and military laws, which would not have been pleasing to an assembly consisting chiefly of Quakers.

Three years after (viz., in 1707) they sent him another remonstrance, in which they complained that the grievance before mentioned was not redressed; and they added to the catalogue articles of impeachment against Logan the secretary, and Evans the deputy-governor. The latter was removed from his office, and was succeeded by Gookin in 1709, and he by Sir William Keith in 1717; but Logan held his place of secretary, and was, in fact, the prime minister and mover in behalf of the proprietor, though extremely obnoxious to the people.

These deputy-governors were dependant on the proprietor for their appointment, and

on the people for their support; if they displeased the former, they were recalled; if the latter, their allowance was withheld; and it was next to impossible to keep on good terms with both. Such an appointment could be accepted by none but those who were fond of perpetual controversy.

To return to the proprietor. His infirmities and misfortunes increased with his age, and unfitted him for the exercise of his beloved work. In 1711 he dictated a preface to the journal of his old friend John Banks, which was his last printed work. The next year he was seized with a paralytic disorder, which impaired his memory. For three succeeding years he continued in a state of great debility, but attended the meeting of Friends at Reading as long as he was able to ride in his chariot, and sometimes spake short and weighty sentences, being incapable of pronouncing a long discourse. Approaching by gradual decay to the close of life, he died on the 30th of July, 1718, in the 74th year of his age, and was buried in his family tomb at Jordan's, in Buckinghamshire.

Notwithstanding his large paternal inheritance, and the great opportunities which he enjoyed of accumulating property by his con-

nexion with America, his latter days were passed in a state far from affluent. He was continually subject to the importunity of his creditors, and obliged to mortgage his estate. He was on the point of surrendering his province to the crown for a valuable consideration, to extricate himself from debt. The instrument was preparing for his signature, but his death, which happened rather unexpectedly, prevented the execution of it; and thus his province in America descended to his posterity, who held it till the Revolution

A P P E N D I X.

Mr. Winslow's Account of the Natives of New-England, annexed to his Narrative of the Plantations, A.D. 1624. [Purchas, iv., 1867.]

A FEW things I thought meet to add hereunto, which I have observed among the Indians, both touching their religion and sundry other customs among them. And first, whereas myself and others, in former letters (which came to the press against my will and knowledge), wrote that the Indians about us are a people without any religion, or knowledge of any God ; therein I erred, though we could then gather no better ; for as they conceive of many divine powers, so of one, whom they call *Kiehtan*,* to be the principal maker of all the rest, and to be made by none. He, they say, created the heavens, earth, sea, and all creatures contained therein. Also, that he made one man and one woman, of whom they, and we, and all mankind came ; but how they became so far dispersed, that they know not. At first, they say, there was no sachem or king but Kiehtan, who dwelleth above the heavens, whither all good men go when they die, to see their friends and have their fill of all things. This his habitation lieth westward in the heavens, they say ; thither the bad men go also, and knock at his door, but he bids them *quachet*, that is to say, walk abroad, for there is no place for such ; so that they wander in restless want and

* The meaning of the word Kiehtan hath reference to antiquity ; for *chise* is an old man, and *Kieh-chise*, a man that exceedeth in age.

their blind devotion, and have a great spacious house, wherein only some few (that are, as we may term them, priests) come : thither, at certain known times, resort all their people, and offer almost all the riches they have to their gods, as kettles, skins, hatchets, beads, knives, &c., all which are cast by the priests into a great fire that they make in the midst of the house, and there consumed to ashes. To this offering every man bringeth freely ; and the more he is known to bring, hath the better esteem of all men. This the other Indians about us approve of as good, and wish their sachems would appoint the like : and because the plague has not reigned at Narihigganset as at other places about them, they attribute to this custom there used.

The Panieses are men of great courage and wisdom, and to these also the devil appeareth more familiarly than to others, and, as we conceive, maketh covenant with them to preserve them from death by wounds with arrows, knives, hatchets, &c., or at least both themselves, and especially the people, think themselves to be freed from the same. And though against their battles all of them, by painting, disfigure themselves, yet they are known by their courage and boldness, by reason whereof one of them will chase almost a hundred men ; for they account it death for whomsoever stand in their way. These are highly esteemed of all sorts of people, and are of the sachems' counsel, without whom they will not war or undertake any weighty business. In war their sachems, for their more safety, go in the midst of them. They are commonly men of great stature and strength, and such as will endure most hardness, and yet are more discreet, courteous, and humane in their carriages than any among them, scorning theft, lying, and the like base dealings, and stand as much upon their reputation as any men. And to the end they may have store of these, they train up the most forward and likeliest boys, from their childhood, in great hardness, and make them abstain from dainty meat, observing divers orders prescribed, to the end

that, when they are of age, the devil may appear to them, causing to drink the juice of sentry and other bitter herbs, till they cast, which they must disgorge into the platter, and drink again and again, till at length, through extraordinary pressing of nature, it will seem to be all blood ; and this the boys will do with eagerness at the first, and so continue till by reason of faintness they can scarce stand on their legs, and then must go forth into the cold ; also they beat their shins with sticks, and cause them to run through bushes, and stumps, and brambles, to make them hardy and acceptable to the devil, that in time he may appear unto them.

Their sachems cannot be all called kings, but only some few of them, to whom the rest resort for protection, and pay homage unto them ; neither may they war without their knowledge and approbation ; yet to be commanded by the greater, as occasion seemeth. Of this sort is *Massassowat*, our friend, and *Conanacus* of Naro-higganset, our supposed enemy. Every sachem taketh care of the widow and fatherless, also for such as are aged and any way maimed, if their friends be dead or not able to provide for them. A sachem will not take any to wife but such a one as is equal to him in birth, otherwise they say their seed would in time become ignoble ; and though they have many other wives, yet are they no other than concubines or servants, and yield a kind of obedience to the principal, who ordereth the family and them in it. The like their men observe also, and will adhere to the first during their lives, but put away the other at their pleasure. This government is successive, and not by choice ; if the father die before the son or daughter be of age, then the child is committed to the protection and tuition of some one among them, who ruleth in his stead till he be of age, but when that is I know not.

Every sachem knoweth how far the bounds and limits of his own country extendeth, and that is his own proper inheritance ; out of that, if any of his men desire land to set their corn, he giveth them as much as they can use, and sets

them in their bounds. In this circuit, whoever hunteth, if any kill venison, they bring him his fee, which is four parts of the same if it be killed on land ; but if in the water, then the skin thereof. The great sachems or kings know not their own bounds or limits of land as well as the rest. All travellers or strangers for the most part lodge at the sachem's. When they come, they tell them how long they will stay and to what place they go ; during which time they receive entertainment, according to their persons, but want not. Once a year the Panieses use to provoke the people to bestow much corn on the sachem. To that end they appoint a certain time and place, near the sachem's dwelling, where the people bring many baskets of corn, and make a great stack thereof. There the Panieses stand ready to give thanks to the people on the sachem's behalf ; and after acquaint the sachem therewith, who fetcheth the same, and is no less thankful, bestowing many gifts on them.

When any are visited with sickness, their friends resort unto them for their comfort, and continue with them oftentimes till their death or recovery. If they die, they stay a certain time to mourn for them. Night and morning they perform this duty, many days after the burial, in a most doleful manner, insomuch as though it be ordinary, and the note musical which they take from one another and altogether, yet it will draw tears from their eyes, and almost from ours also. But if they recover, then, because their sickness was chargeable, they send corn and other gifts unto them, at a certain appointed time, whereat they feast and dance, which they call *commoro*. When they bury the dead, they sow up the corpse in a mat, and so put it in the earth ; if the party be a sachem, they cover him with many curious mats, and bury all his riches with him, and enclose the grave with a pale. If it be a child, the father will also put his own most special jewels and ornaments in the earth with it ; also he will cut his hair, and disfigure himself very much in token of sorrow. If it be the man or woman of the house, they will pull down

the mats, and leave the frame standing, and bury them in or near the same, and either remove their dwelling, or give over housekeeping.

The men employ themselves wholly in hunting and other exercises of the bow, except at some times they take some pains in fishing. The women live a most slavish life; they carry all their burdens, set and dress their corn, gather it in, and seek out for much of their food; beat and make ready the corn to eat, and have all household care lying upon them.

The younger sort reverence the elder, and do all mean offices while they are together, although they be strangers. Boys and girls may not wear their hair like men and women, but are distinguished thereby.

A man is not accounted a man till he do some notable act, or show forth such courage and resolution as becometh his place. The men take much tobacco, but for boys so to do, they account it odious.

All their names are significant and variable; for, when they come to the state of men and women, they alter them according to their deeds or dispositions.

When a maid is taken in marriage, she first cutteth her hair, and after weareth a covering on her head till her hair be grown out. Their women are diversely disposed, some as modest as they will scarce talk one with another in the company of men, being very chaste also; yet other some are light, lascivious, and wanton. If a woman have a bad husband, or cannot affect him, and there be war or opposition between that and any other people, she will run away from him to the contrary party, and there live, where they never come unwelcome; for *where are most women there is greatest plenty.*

When a woman hath her monthly terms, she separateth herself from all other company, and liveth certain days in a house alone; after which she washeth herself, and all that she hath touched or used, and is again received to her husband's

bed or family. For adultery, the husband will beat his wife and put her away if he please. Some common strumpets there are, as well as in other places; but they are such as either never married, or widows, or put away for adultery; for no man will keep such a one to wife.

In matters of unjust and dishonest dealing, the sachem examineth and punisheth the same. In case of theft, for the first offence he is disgracefully rebuked; for the second, beaten by the sachem with a cudgel on the naked back; for the third, he is beaten with many strokes, and hath his nose slit upward, that thereby all men may know and shun him. If any man kill another, he must likewise die for the same. The sachem not only passeth sentence upon malefactors, but executeth the same with his own hands if the party be then present; if not, sendeth his own knife in case of death, in the hands of others to perform the same. But if the offender be to receive other punishment, he will not receive the same but from the sachem himself; before whom, being naked, he kneeleth, and will not offer to run away, though he beat him never so much, it being a greater disparagement for a man to cry during the time of his correction than is his offence and punishment.

As for their apparel, they wear breeches and stockings in one, like some Irish, which is made of deer skins, and have shoes of the same leather. They wear also a deer's skin loose about them like a cloak, which they will turn to the weather-side. In this habit they travel; but when they are at home, or come to their journey's end, they presently pull off their breeches, stockings, and shoes, wring out the water if they be wet, and dry them, and rub or chafe the same. Though these be off, yet have they another small garment which covereth their secrets. The men wear also, when they go abroad in cold weather, an otter or fox skin on their right arm, but only their bracer on the left. Women, and all of that sex, wear strings about their legs, which the men never do.

The people are very ingenious and observative ; they keep account of time by the moon, and winters or summers ; they know divers of the stars by name ; in particular, they know the North Star, and call it *Maske*, which is to say, *the Bear* ; also they have many names for the winds. They will guess very well at the wind and weather beforehand by observations in the heavens. They report, also, that some of them can cause the wind to blow in what part they list ; can raise storms and tempests, which they usually do when they intend the death or destruction of other people, that by reason of the unseasonable weather, they may take advantage of their enemies in their houses. At such times they perform their greatest exploits ; and at such seasons, when they are at enmity with any, they keep more careful watch than at other times.

As for their language, it is very copious, large, and difficult ; as yet, we cannot attain to any great measure thereof, but can understand them, and explain ourselves to their understanding by the help of those that daily converse with us. And though there be difference in a hundred miles' distance of place both in language and manners, yet not so much but that they very well understand each other. And thus much of their lives and manners.

Instead of records and chronicles, they take this course. Where any remarkable act is done, in memory of it, either in the place, or by some pathway near adjoining, they make a round hole in the ground about a foot deep, and as much over, which, when others passing by behold, they inquire the cause and occasion of the same, which being once known, they are careful to acquaint all men, as occasion serveth therewith ; and, lest such holes should be filled or grown up by any accident, as men pass by, they will oft renew the same : by which means many things of great antiquity are fresh in memory. So that, as a man travelleth, if he can understand his guide, his journey will be less tedious, by reason of many historical discourses which will be related to him.

For that continent on which we are, called New-England, although it hath ever been conceived by the English to be a part of the mainland adjoining to Virginia, yet by relation of the Indians it should appear to be otherwise ; for they affirm confidently that it is an island, and that either the Dutch or French pass through from sea to sea between us and Virginia, and drive a great trade in the same. The name of that inlet of the sea they call *Mohegon*, which I take to be the same which we call Hudson's River, up which Master Hudson went many leagues, and, for want of means (as I hear), left it undiscovered. For confirmation of this, their opinion is thus much ; though Virginia be not above a hundred leagues from us, yet they never heard of *Powhatan*, or knew that any English were planted in his country, save only by us and *Tisquantum*, who went thither in an English ship ; and, therefore, it is more probable, because the water is not passable for them who are very adventurous in their boats.

Then for the temperature of the air : in almost three years' experience, I can scarce distinguish New-England from Old-England in respect of heat and cold, frost, snow, rain, wind, &c. Some object because our plantation lieth in the latitude of two-and-forty, it must needs be much hotter. I confess I cannot give the reason of the contrary ; only experience teaches us that, if it do exceed England, it is so little as must require better judgments to discern it. And for the winter, I rather think (if there be difference) it is both sharper and longer in New-England than Old ; and yet the want of those comforts in the one which I have enjoyed in the other may deceive my judgment also. But in my best observation, comparing our own conditions with the relations of other parts of America, I cannot conceive of any to agree better with the constitutions of the English, not being oppressed with the extremity of heat, nor nipped by biting cold, by which means, blessed be God, we enjoy our health, notwithstanding those difficulties we have undergone, in

such a measure as would have been admired had we lived in England with the like means. The day is two hours longer than here when at the shortest, and as much shorter when at the longest.

The soil is variable ; in some places mould, in some clay, and others a mixed sand, &c. The chiefest grain is the Indian maize or Guinea wheat ; the seed-time beginneth in the midst of April, and continueth good till the midst of May. Our harvest beginneth with September. This corn increaseth in great measure, but is inferior in quality to the same in Virginia ; the reason, I conceive, is because Virginia is far hotter than it is with us, it requiring great heat to ripen. But whereas it is objected against New-England that corn will not grow there except the ground be manured with fish, I answer, that where men set with fish (as with us), it is more easy so to do than to clear ground, and set without some five or six years, and so begin anew, as in Virginia and elsewhere. Not but that in some places where they cannot be taken with ease in such abundance, the Indians set four years together without them, and have as good corn, or better than we have that set with them ; though, indeed, I think, if we had cattle to till the ground, it would be more profitable and better agreeable to the soil to sow wheat, rye, barley, pease, and oats, than to set maize, which our Indians call *Ewachim* : for we have had experience that they live and thrive well ; and the other will not be procured without good labour and diligence, especially at seed-time, when it must also be watched by night, to keep the wolves from the fish till it be rotten, which will be in fourteen days ; yet men agreeing together and taking their turns, it is not much.

Much might be spoken of the benefit that may come to such as shall plant here, by trading with the Indians for furs, if men take a right course for obtaining the same ; for I dare presume upon that small experience I have had to affirm that the English, Dutch, and French return yearly many

thousand pounds profit by trade only from that island on which we are seated.

Tobacco may be there planted, but not with that profit as in some other places; neither were it profitable there to follow it, though the increase were equal, because fish is a better and richer commodity, and more necessary, which may be, and there are, had in as great abundance as in any other part of the world; witness the west-country merchants of England, which return incredible gains yearly from thence. And if they can so do, which here buy their salt at a great charge, and transport more company to make their voyage than will sail their ships, what may the planters expect when once they are seated, and make the most of their salt there, and employ themselves at least eight months in fishing, whereas the other fish but four, and have their ship lie dead in the harbour all the time, whereas such shipping as belong to plantations may take freight of passengers or cattle thither, and have their lading provided against they come? I confess we have come so far short of the means to raise such returns, as with great difficulty we have preserved our lives; insomuch as, when I look back upon our condition and weak means to preserve the same, I rather admire at God's mercies and providence in our preservation than that no greater things have been effected by us. But, though our beginning have been thus raw, small, and difficult, as thou hast seen, yet the same God that hath hitherto led us through the former, I hope, will raise means to accomplish the latter.

I N D E X.

A.

- ACADIA, its limits, ii., 19.
 Africa circumnavigated, i., 30.
 Aguado sent to Hispaniola, i., 187.
 Allerton, Isaac, assistant to Governor Bradford, iii., 10.
 America, peopled in part from the East, i., 51. Named from Amerigo, 194.
 "Antiquitates Americanæ," abstract of the historical evidence contained in the, i., 87.
 Archer, Gabriel, journalist of Gosnold's voyage, ii., 215.
 Argal, Samuel, sails from Virginia with Sir George Somers, ii., 130. Returns to Virginia, 131. Carries Lord Delaware to England, 137. Returns to Virginia, *ib.* His voyage to the Patowmack, *ib.* Obtains Pocahontas from Japazaws, and carries her to Jamestown, 138. Accompanies Dale on a treaty with the Chicahomony Indians, 141. Expedition to the northern part of Virginia, 148. Attacks the French at Mount Desart, 149. Takes possession of their fort, *ib.* Takes and destroys Fort Royal, 150. His conference with Biencourt, *ib.* Visits the Dutch at Hudson's River, 152. Dutch governor surrenders to him, *ib.* His voyage to England, 153. Appointed deputy-governor of Virginia, 154. Arrives in Virginia, *ib.* Revives discipline, 155. Becomes odious by his rigour, 156. Charged with speculation, *ib.* His oppressive treatment of Brewster, Lord Delaware's agent, 157. Superseded, 158. Escapes by aid of the Earl of Warwick, *ib.* Commands a ship against the Algerines 129. Knighted by King James, *ib.* His character, 158.
 Azores discovered, i., 213.

B.

- Baltimore, Lord, *vide* Calvert, George.
 Behaim, Martin, i., 210. Discovers Congo and Benin, 216.
 Bermuda Islands, description of them, ii., 124.
 Biron, i., 77.
 Bligh, Lieutenant, his hazardous voyage, i., 38.
 Boston founded, iii., 154. Favours the opinion of Mr. Hutchinson, 168. Opposition to Governor Winthrop, 166, 171.
 Botello, his daring voyage from India to Lisbon, i., 39, *n.*
 Bovadilla supersedes Columbus, i., 192.
 Bradford, William, his birth and education, iii., 7. Joins Robinson's and Clifton's Church, 8. Imprisoned, *ib.* Removes to Amsterdam, *ib.* Unsuccessful in trade, 9. Accompanies the adventurers to New-England, *ib.* Makes an excursion from Cape Cod Harbour, *ib.* His wife drowned, *ib.* Chosen governor of New-Plymouth, 10. Sends an embassy to Massasoit, 12. Sends a party to the Bay of Massachusetts, 17. Receives a

- threatening message from Canonicus, 19. Makes a voyage for corn, &c., 21, 22. Sends messages to Massasoit in his sickness, 22. Receives intelligence of a conspiracy of the Indians, 23. Adopts measures of defence, 24. Surrenders the patent to the colony, 83. His death, 44. His character, 45, 48. His history of the colony, 46. Part of his letter-book found at Halifax, *ib.* His discreet and decisive proceedings with Lyford, 48-50. His descendants, 51.
- Brazil discovered, i., 55.
- Breton, Cape, named, i., 230, n.
- Brewster, William, his education, iii., 53. Enters into the service of Davison, *ib.* Intrusted with the keys of Flushing, 54. Honoured by the States of Holland, *ib.* Adheres to Davison in his misfortunes, 55. Joins Mr. Clifton's and Robinson's Church, 56. Removes to Holland, 57. Employed as an instructor at Leyden, *ib.* Sets up a printing-office, 58. Removes to America, *ib.* Chosen ruling elder at Plymouth, *ib.* Officiates as a preacher, 59. His death, 66. His character, 66-69. His library, 69.
- Brown, Robert, head of a zealous party of Puritans, ii., 256.
- Bucke, Richard, chaplain to Sir George Somers, ii., 125.
- Buss Island, i., 148.
- Buzzard's Bay, ii., 219.

C.

- Cabral discovers Brazil, i., 55.
- Calvert, George, his birth and education, iii., 206. In the service of Sir Robert Cecil, *ib.* Secretary of state, 207. Receives a pension from King James, *ib.* Becomes a Catholic, *ib.* Created Baron of Baltimore, *ib.* Attempts a settlement at Newfoundland and abandons it, 208, 209. Visits Virginia, 209. Receives a grant of the territory north of the Patowmack, 210. His death, *ib.* His character, *ib.*
- Calvert, Cecil, Lord Baltimore, receives a patent of Maryland, iii., 211. Settles the colony, 216, 224. Appoints his brother Leonard governor, 216.
- Calvert, Leonard, governor of Maryland, iii., 216. Conducts settlers to the colony, 216, 224.
- Canary Islands discovered, i., 48. Volcanoes in, 50.
- Cape Cod visited by the French from Acadia, ii., 27, 31. Discovered by Gosnold, 209.
- Cartier, James, i., 230.
- Carver, John, appointed agent to the English settlers at Leyden, ii., 283, 295. Superintends the equipments for emigration, 301. Chosen governor of the company, 307. Makes an excursion from Cape Cod to look for a harbour, 317. Skirmish with the natives, 319. Lands on Clarke's Island, 320. Returns to the ship, 321. Makes a settlement at Plymouth, 321, 322. His sickness, 323. His recovery, and visit to Billington's Sea, 325. His interview with Massasoit, 330. His death, 332. His character, 332, 333. His posterity, 333. A ship named for him, *ib.* His sword in the cabinet of the Historical Society, *ib.*

- Battle first brought to New-England, iii., 103.
 Chaleur Bay discovered, i., 233.
 Champlain, Samuel, ii., 15. Sails up the St. Lawrence, 18. Builds a fort at Quebec, 42. Discovers the Lakes, *ib.* Surrenders Quebec to the English, 44. His death and character, 45.
 Chanco reveals a plot of the Indians, and preserves Jamestown, ii., 179.
 Charaibes, emigrants from the East, i., 57.
 Chicahomony Indians, treaty between them and the Virginians, ii., 141, 142.
 Clarke's Island, ii., 320.
 Columbus, Christopher, i., 156. His reasons for seeking India in the West, 161. His first voyage, 175. His second voyage, 181. His third voyage, 189. His fourth voyage, 195. Wrecked on Jamaica, 198. His death and character, 202-210.
 Columbus, Bartholomew, i., 171, 185.
 Congo discovered, i., 216.
 Convicts first sent to Virginia, ii., 167.
 Copper ornaments worn by the Indians of New-England, ii., 224.
 Croix, St., port of, i., 237.
 Croix, St., island of, ii., 24.
 Cuba discovered, i., 184.
 Cushman, Robert, agent from the English at Leyden to the Virginia Company, iii., 70. Agent for removal, 71. Embarks for America, *ib.* Returns to England, *ib.* Arrives at Plymouth, 72. Delivers a discourse on Self-love, *ib.* Sails for England, *ib.* Taken by the French, *ib.* His death and character, 73. His son a ruling elder at Plymouth, 78. Extract from his Discourse on Self-love, 70-84.

D.

- Dale, Sir Thomas, governor of Virginia, ii., 118. Built Henrico, 119. Arrival in Virginia, 134. His energetic proceedings, 135. Surrenders the command to Sir Thomas Gates, 137. Resumes the command, 142. Returns to England, 146. His character as governor, *ib.*
 Delaware, Lord, arrives in Virginia, ii., 122. Builds two forts on James River, 133. Leaves Virginia, *ib.* Arrives at the Western Islands, *ib.* Sails for Virginia, 156. His death, *ib.*
 Dermer, Thomas, ii., 63.
 Drogio, i., 141.
 Dutch intrude into the fur-trade, ii., 36. Complained of as intruders, 77.

E.

- Eclipse, lunar, fortunate to Columbus, i., 199.
 Egg, set on its smallest end, i., 207.
 Elizabeth Island, ii., 213, 214. Visited by the author in 1797, 215, 220. Description of it, 219-221.
 Estotiland, i., 140, 154.
 Eudoxus, his voyage, i., 46.
 Evans, John, Penn's deputy, iii., 288.

F.

- Fog Banks, i., 166.
 Fonte, De, Strait of, ii., 12.
Forefather Rock at Plymouth, ii., 321.
 Fortifications, antique, i., 270.
 Frisland, i., 138, 146.
 Fuca, John de, ii., 7.
 Fuca, De, Strait of, described, ii., 9, 11.

G.

- Gaspè, Bay of, discovered, i., 233.
 Gates, Sir Thomas, arrives in Virginia as governor, ii., 137. **Re-**
turns to England, 142.
 Gay Head, called Dover Cliff by Gosnold, ii., 218.
 Gilbert, Bartholomew, his voyage to Virginia, ii., 237, 238. **Kill-**
ed by the natives, 238.
 Gilbert, Humphrey, i., 272. His birth and education, 275. Serves
 in Ireland, 276. Member of Parliament, *ib.* Takes possession
 of Newfoundland, 282. Is lost at sea, 286.
 Gookin, Daniel, settles in Virginia, ii., 118. Removes to New-
 England, *ib.*
 Gorges, Ferdinando, ii., 47. His perseverance, 55. His defence
 before the Commons, 72. His complaint against the Dutch, 77.
 His expense and loss, 80, 81. His misfortunes and death, 91, 92.
 Gorges, Ferdinando, 2d, ii., 93.
 Gorges, John, ii., 93.
 Gorges, Robert, ii., 69, 76.
 Gorges, Thomas, ii., 87.
 Gosnold, Bartholomew, his voyage to Virginia, ii., 207. His sec-
 ond voyage, *ib.* Discovers land near Massachusetts Bay, 208.
 Discovers Cape Cod, 209. His interview with the natives, 210.
 Discovers Martha's Vineyard, 211. Discovers Dover Cliff (Gay
 Head), 212. Anchors at Elizabeth Island (Cuttyhunk), 213.
 Builds a fort, 222. Visits the main, *ib.* His interview and
 traffic with the natives, 223. Attacked, 226. Sails for Eng-
 land, *ib.* Accompanies John Smith to Virginia, 227. His death,
 228.
 Greenland discovered, i., 78.
 Grenville, Richard, i., 289. His voyage to Virginia, 306. His
 death, 316.
 Guadaloupe discovered, i., 53, 182.
 Guanahana discovered, i., 178.

H.

- Hakluyt, Richard, engaged in an adventure to New-England,
 ii., 228.
 Hamilton, Andrew, Penn's deputy, iii., 288.
 Hampden, John, accompanies Winslow to Massasoit, iii., 22.
 Hanno, his voyage, i., 44.
 Harvey, Sir John, governor of Virginia, ii., 205.
 Henrico built by Sir Thomas Dale, ii., 137.

Hispaniola discovered, i., 182.

Homony described, i., 303.

I.

Independence of the colonies suspected, ii., 83.

J.

Jamaica discovered, i., 184. Columbus wrecked on, 198.

James I. (King), tenacious of his prerogatives, ii., 114. His proceedings with the Virginia Company, 185, 204. His death, 204. His character, 258.

James II. (King), friendly to William Penn, iii., 272. Liberates the Quakers, 274.

Jesuits introduced to Port Royal, ii., 40.

K.

Kirk, David, takes Quebec, ii., 44.

L.

Laconia described, ii., 78.

Lane, Ralph, governor of Virginia, i., 307.

Lawrence, St., Bay and River discovered, i., 234.

Lead ore in Virginia, ii., 181.

Line of demarcation, i., 180.

Lisbon, Columbus puts in at, i., 221.

Lotteries, supplies by them for Virginia, ii., 113.

Luserne, an American wild animal, ii., 234.

M.

Madoc, prince of Wales, i., 129.

Maine, Province of, ii., 87. Its plan of government, 88. Protected by Massachusetts, 92. Purchased by Massachusetts, 94.

Martha's Vineyard, No-man's-land, first so named, ii., 217. Martin Pring lands upon it, 231. Description of its productions, 234.

Maryland made a province, iii., 213. Settled by the Calverts, 216, 224. Many Roman Catholics resort there, 223.

Mason, John, connected with Gorges, ii., 77. His plantation at Piscataqua, 80. His great expense and loss, *ib.*

Massachusetts colony established, ii., 82.

Massacre, general, in Virginia by the natives, ii., 179-181.

Massasoit, his interview with the Plymouth settlers, ii., 329, 330. Treaty with him, 330. His sickness, iii., 22. Visited by Winslow, 74.

Mavoshen, an ancient name for the district of Maine, ii., 252.

Monsoons known to the Phenicians, i., 34.

Montreal discovered and named, i., 243.

Monts, De, ii., 15. His patent for Acadia, 19. His fort at St. Croix, 24. Quits Acadia, 38.

Morrell, William, first Episcopal clergyman in New-England, iii, 69.

N.

- Necho, his voyage round Africa, i., 29.
 Newfoundland, its productions, i., 84. State of its fishery, 273.
 Possessed by the English, 282.
 Newport, Christopher, commander in the navy of Queen Elizabeth, ii., 117. Makes a settlement in Virginia, *ib.*
 New-York first settled, ii., 152.
 Normans, their navigation, i., 77.
 Norumbega, ii., 27.
 Norumbega, ancient name for parts of the District of Maine, ii., 252.
 Nova Scotia granted to Sir William Alexander, ii., 152.

O.

- Opecanchanough has a house built for him by the English, ii., 161.
 Makes a treaty with the settlers in Virginia, *ib.* Artful conduct towards Governor Wyat, 175. Demands satisfaction for the death of Nematanow, 177. Plans and executes a general massacre of the English, 178-181.
 Opitchapan succeeds Powhatan, ii., 160.
 Ovando, governor of Hispaniola, i., 195. His cruelty to Columbus, 199, 200.

P.

- Paria, Gulf of, discovered, i., 189.
 Paul the Physician, his letters to Columbus, i., 223, 228.
 Penn, William, his birth and education, iii., 225. His religious impressions, 226. Punished at the University for non-conformity, *ib.* Travels to France, 227. Student at Lincoln's Inn, *ib.* Goes to Ireland, *ib.* Attaches himself to the Quakers, *ib.* Arrested at a conventicle, 228. His sensible plea in his defence, and his discharge, *ib.* Discarded by his father, 229. An itinerant preacher, *ib.* Publishes a book which offends the spiritual lords, 230. Imprisoned in the Tower, *ib.* Released, 231. His second journey to Ireland, *ib.* Preaches in the street in London, *ib.* Arrested, tried, and acquitted, 232. His father reconciled to him, *ib.* Great increase of property on the death of his father, 233. Imprisoned in Newgate, *ib.* Travels on the Continent, *ib.* Returns to England, marries, &c., 234. Travels with Fox, Barclay, and Keith, *ib.* Settles the government of the churches, *ib.* Pleads for the Quakers before Parliament, 236. Character of his writings, *ib.* His political character and opinions, 238. Receives a charter of Pennsylvania, 242. His terms of settlement, 245, 246. Sends a letter to the Indians, 246. Elected Fellow of the Royal Society, 247. Completes a frame of government for his province, *ib.* Embarks with a number of Quakers for America, 252. Arrives at Newcastle, *ib.* Cordially received by the settlers, *ib.* Goes to Chester, *ib.* Names his settlement Philadelphia, 253. Calls a general assembly, 254. His kind attentions to the natives, 256. His treaties, 257, 259. Lays out Philadelphia, 263, 264. Specimen of

- his style of preaching, 265. His departure for England, 267. His controversy with Lord Baltimore respecting boundaries, 267-271. Publishes a book on liberty of conscience, 272. Suspected of affecting Popery, *ib.* Address to his brethren, *ib.* Presents to King James II. an address of thanks from the Quakers, 274. Suspected of being an enemy to King William, 276. Repeatedly tried and acquitted, 276, 277. Conceals himself, 277. His writings while in retirement, 278. Conduct of his wife renders him suspected, *ib.* Her death, *ib.* His second marriage, *ib.* Involved in debt, 279. Ineffectual application to the Pennsylvanians for a loan, *ib.* Returns to Pennsylvania, 283. His prudent measures, *ib.* Signs a new charter, 286. Returns to England, 287. Confined in the Fleet Prison, *ib.* Receives a remonstrance from the Pennsylvanians, 288-290. His embarrassments, 291. Contemplates a surrender of his province to the crown to relieve himself, 292. His death, 291.
- Pennsylvania, original frame of its government, iii., 247-251. Alteration in the government, 266. Early flourishing state of it, 267. Difficulties from Penn's absence, 279, 283. New charter, 286, 290. Separated from the three lower counties, 288. Controversies with Penn's deputies, 288, 290.
- Penobscot River discovered by Weymouth, ii., 253. Called Pentagoet by the French, *ib.*
- Percy, governor of Virginia, ii., 134.
- Pestilence among the Indians, ii., 58.
- Philadelphia founded and named by Penn, ii., 263. Situation and original plan of it, 263, 264. Its flourishing situation in two years after its foundation, 267.
- Phœnicians the first navigators, i., 27. Construction of their ships, 37. Their mercantile jealousy, 40.
- Plymouth, Council of, established, ii., 66. Embarrassed, 84. Dissolved, 86.
- Plymouth first settled and named, ii., 321-323. The harbour discovered by Winslow and others, iii., 85. Fortified, 19. Defence of it committed to Miles Standish, 118. Description of its situation, ii., 322. Dangerous fire at its first settlement, 323.
- Plymouth colony established, ii., 67. Its settlement, progress, sufferings, government, laws, &c., *vide* Carver, Bradford, Brewster, Winslow, and Standish, ii., 295-iii., 147.
- Pocahontas preserves Henry Spelman from Powhatan, ii., 131. Concealed by Japazaws, 138. Obtained by Argal, and conveyed to Jamestown, *ib.* Married to J. Rolfe, 139. Accompanies Sir T. Dale to England, 146. Her descendants, 140.
- Porland, i., 152.
- Port Royal, plantation at, ii., 22.
- Poutrincourt, ii., 15.
- Powhatan reconciled to the English, ii., 139. His death and character, 160.
- Pring, Martin, sails for North Virginia, ii., 229. Discovers Fox Islands, *ib.* Enters Saco, Kennebec, York, and Piscataqua rivers, 230. Enters Massachusetts Bay, 231. Lands at Edgartown, 232. Interview with the natives, 233. Sends a cargo of

sassafras to England, 234. Returns to England, 237. His second voyage, 252.

Proctor, Mrs., her heroic defence against the Indians, ii., 182.

Q.

Quakers debarred from their meeting-houses in London, iii., 231. Assemble in the streets, 232. Their cause rendered popular by an intemperate expression of Sir John Howel's, *ib.* Their church government and discipline settled by Penn and others, 234. Their sentiments concerning marriage, *ib.* Suffer by a test law made against Papists, 235. Ineffectual application to Parliament for relief, 236. Penn's exertions in their behalf, 271, 272. Relieved by James II., 274. Their address of thanks to him, *ib.* Become obnoxious on that account, 275.

Quebec named, ii., 19. Fort built, 42. Taken by the English, 44. Restored to the French, 45.

R.

Raleigh, Walter, i., 289. Birth and education, 290, 291. Embarks for France with a troop of volunteers, 292. Accompanies Sir John Norris to the Netherlands, 293. Joins the first and unsuccessful voyage of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, 294. Serves in Ireland as captain of a troop of horse, 295. Is admitted to court, 297. Patent for discovering, &c., 299. Makes an assignment of his patent, 314. Imprisoned in the Tower, 322. Released, 324. Embarks for Guiana, *ib.* Second expedition to Guiana, 338. Engaged in the expedition to Cadiz, 340. Arrested on a charge of high treason, 351. His trial, 353. Remanded to the Tower, 357. His "History of the World," 358. Released from confinement, 361. Expedition to Guiana, *ib.* His execution, 370; ii., 160.

Roanoke discovered, i., 300.

Robinson, John, his birth and education, ii., 257. Minister of a congregation of dissenters, *ib.* His congregation persecuted, 258-265. Removes with his church to Amsterdam, 268. Removes to Leyden, 270. His public dispute with Episcopius, 273. His sentiments, 275-278. His church contemplates a removal, 278-280. Apply to the Virginia Company, 282. Preaches to them previous to removal, 286. His just and liberal sentiments, 288, 289. His affectionate leave of those who embarked for America, 289. Prevented from removing to America, 291. His death, character, and posterity, 291-294.

Roldan, his mutiny, i., 190.

S.

Sable Island, flocked with cattle, i., 284, 287. Convicts landed at, ii., 16.

Saco River, ii., 253.

Sagadahock, colony at, ii., 52.

Samoset visits the Plymouth settlers, ii., 327.

Sandys, Sir Edwin, treasurer of the Virginia Company, ii., 110.

Sassafras the principal object of Pring's voyage, ii., 231.

- Savage rock, ii., 231.
 Scurvy, remedy for, i., 247.
 Silk attempted to be produced in Virginia, ii., 170.
 Skrælings, i., 81.
 Smith, Sir Thomas, ii., 100. Calumniated, 100, 103, 104. Decree of chancery in his favour, 107. Resigns his office of treasurer of the Virginia Company, 110. Two thousand acres of land granted to him in Virginia, 112.
 Somers, Sir George, admiral of Virginia, ii., 117. Dispute with Gates about rank, 119. Wrecked on Bermuda Islands, 121. Arrives in Virginia, 126. Voyage to the Bermudas, 130, 131. His death, burial, and monument, 131, 132. Somers' Islands named from him, 133.
 Somers, Matthew, ii., 131.
 Soto, Ferdinando de, his adventures in Florida, i., 258. His death, 268.
 Spelman, Henry, preserved by Pocahontas, ii., 131.
 Standish, Miles, iii., 116. A soldier in the Netherlands, 117. Settles at Leyden, *ib.* Embarks for America, *ib.* Commands a party for discovery at Cape Cod, *ib.* Chief military commander at Plymouth, *ib.* Compels Corbitant to submit, 118. His arrangements for the defence of Plymouth, 119. His voyage to Matachiest, *ib.* His resolute conduct with the Indians, 120. His voyage to Manomet, 121. His expedition to Wessagusset, 122, 123. His expedition to Cape Ann, 135, 136. Mr. Hubbard's observations relating to him, 136. Mr. Robinson's letter respecting him, 137. Apology for his conduct, 137, 138. Agent for the colony in England, 139. Returns to Plymouth, 140. Expedition against Morton at Mount Wollaston, 143. His settlement at Duxbury, 145. His death and descendants, 145-147.
 Stith, his remarks on sending convicts to Virginia, ii., 168. His eulogy of the Virginia Company, 200.

T.

- Thorpe, George, murdered by Indians, ii., 180. His character, 181.
 Tillotson, Dr., his candid treatment of Penn, iii., 273.
 Tobacco first known, i., 244. Carried to England, 316. Cultivated in Virginia, ii., 169. King James' aversion to it, *ib.* Its cultivation opposed by the Virginia Company, 170. Becomes a staple commodity of Virginia, *ib.* Prohibited in England, unless the growth of the colonies, 197.
 Trinidad Island discovered, i., 189.

V.

- Vane, Sir Henry, governor of Massachusetts, iii., 164.
 Virginia named, i., 305. Its topography by Heriot, 308. First child born in, 312. Divided into North and South, ii., 50. Expedition to, 119. Character of a company of its settlers, 122. State of, at Lord Delaware's departure, 134. At Sir Thomas Dale's arrival, *ib.* Adventures to, their discouragement, 135. Description of it by Gates and Delaware, 135-137. Difficulties in, from the manner of holding lands, 142-145. Sir Thomas Dale's high

opinion of it, 146. Supplied with corn by the natives, 153. Great mortality in, 164. Its first assembly, *ib.* General views of its settlers, 165. A number of young women sent there, 165, 166. Convicts sent there, 167. Slaves first introduced there, 169. Its tobacco trade, 169, 170. New settlements there in Yeardley's administration, 173. Means of defence there neglected, *ib.* Massacre of a great number of the inhabitants, 178-181. Iron works and lead ore there, 181. Many of the plantations there abandoned, 182. War with the natives, 182, 183. Its slender aid from the crown, 185. Orders of council for an alteration in its government, 188. Commissioners sent to, 189. Quo warranto against the Company of, 190. Assembly protest and appoint an agent, 192. John Porentis, their agent, dies on his passage to England, *ib.* Applies to the House of Commons, 196. Their petition ordered to be withdrawn by the king, *ib.* Meetings of the Company of, suppressed, 198. Charter vacated, *ib.* Government new modelled by King James, 201-204.

W.

Wainham, Sir Ferdinando, his arrival in Virginia, and death, ii., 119.

Weymouth, George, sails for America, ii., 239. Oldmixon's and Beverley's mistakes respecting his voyages, *ib.* Discovers George's Islands, 239, 241. Pentecost Harbour, 239, 242. Observations on his journal by John F. Williams, 249-252. Abstract of his voyage, with the author's queries, 240, 249. Kidnaps some of the natives, 243. Discovers Penobscot River, 252.

White, John, governor of Virginia, i., 311.

White, Peregrine, first English child born in New-England, ii., 315.

Williams, John Foster, his observations on Weymouth's voyage, ii., 249-252.

Winland discovered, i., 80.

Winslow, Edward, his birth and education, iii., 85. Travels on the Continent, *ib.* Joins Robinson's Church, *ib.* Settles at Leyden, and marries, *ib.* Removes to America with his family, *ib.* One of the discoverers of Plymouth Harbour, *ib.* Death of his wife, and second marriage, 86. His visit to Massasoit, 85, 91. His voyage to Monahigon, 94. His second visit to Massasoit in the time of his sickness, 94-102. Went to England as agent for the Colony of New-England, 102. Published a narrative of the transactions of the colony, *ib.* Returns to Plymouth, and brings the first neat cattle brought to New-England, 103. His second voyage to England, *ib.* Detects Lyford, and returns to Plymouth, 104. Elected assistant, *ib.* Again sent agent to England, 105. Application to the commissioners of the colonies, 106. Questioned by Archbishop Laud for celebrating marriages, 107. His defence, *ib.* Pronounced guilty of separation from the Church, *ib.* Committed to the Fleet Prison, *ib.* Petitions the board, and obtains a release, *ib.* Returns to New-England, and chosen governor, 108. Chosen commissioner of the United Colonies, *ib.* Agent to England to answer the com

- plaint of Gorton, 109. Conducts with ability and success, 110. Engaged in colonizing and converting the Indians, *ib.* One of the corporation for that purpose, 112. One of the commissioners sent by Cromwell on an expedition against the Spaniards, 113. Dies on the passage to Jamaica, *ib.* Buried with the honours of war, 114. His settlement at Marshfield, *ib.* Account of his descendants, 114, 115. His account of the Indians, 293-304.
- Winthrop, John, his birth and ancestry, iii., 148. Educated for the law, *ib.* Leader of the settlement in Massachusetts, 149. First governor of the colonies, *ib.* Settlement at Newtown, 152. Removal to Boston, 154. His character, 154-160. Left out of the magistracy, 160. Examination of his accounts, and honourable result, 161. His humility, *ib.* His firmness and decision, 164. His difficulties with Mrs. Hutchinson and her followers, *ib.* Superseded by Henry Vane, *ib.* Elected governor again, 167. Assists at a synod, 169. His firm and correct conduct with the Church at Boston, 171, 172. His opinion of democracy, 174. Of magistracy and liberty, 178. His pecuniary embarrassments, 181. His afflictions, 182. Governor's Island granted to him, 183. His death, *ib.* His picture preserved in the Senate Chamber of Massachusetts, *ib.* His journal, *ib.* His posterity, 184.
- Winthrop, John, governor of Connecticut, his birth and education, iii., 185. His removal to New-England, 186. Services to the colony, *ib.* Builds Saybrook Fort, 192. Obtains a charter incorporating Connecticut and New-Haven, 200. Governor of the Colony of Connecticut for fourteen years, 202. Elected Fellow of the Royal Society, *ib.* One of the commissioners of the United Colonies, 205. Dies at Boston, *ib.*
- Wyat Sir Francis, succeeds Yeardley, ii., 174. His instructions from the Virginia Company, *ib.* Arrives in Virginia, 175. Deceived by the Indian chiefs, *ib.* Massacre of the inhabitants while he was governor, 178-181. Opposes the change of government attempted by the crown, 193. Returns to Ireland, 205.

X.

- Xerxes, his orders to sail round Africa, i., 31, 44.

Y.

- Yeardley, George, governor of Virginia, ii., 153. Encourages the cultivation of tobacco, *ib.* Attacks the Chickahomony Indians, *ib.* Superseded by Argal, 154. Appointed governor-general of Virginia, 158. His attention to his government, 161. Opposed, 172. Resigns, *ib.* Resumes the government on Wyatt's departure, 205. His death, *ib.*

Z.

- Zeno, i., 138.
- Zones, doctrine of, i., 42.

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